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JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

A

NARRATIVE

BY

JOHN ASHBURNHAM

OF HIS

ATTENDANCE ON KING CHARLES THE FIRST

FROM OXFORD TO THE SCOTCH ARMY,

AND

FROM HAMPTON-COURT TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT:

NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

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TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A VINDICATION

OF

HIS CHARACTER AND CONDUCT,

FROM THE

MISREPRESENTATIONS OF LORD CLARENDON,

BY HIS LINEAL DESCENDANT AND PRESENT REPRESENTATIVE.

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."

VOL. I.

LONDON:

WYNE AND FOSS, PALL-MALL; BALDWIN AND CRADOCK,

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 26, line 17, for *was equal* read *was of equal.*
117, line 10, for *men* read *man.*
137. The side note *Clarendon Papers* should be at line 4.
180, line 15, read *a boldness of design* and *a breadth, &c.*
228, line 7, for *confesses* read *confessed.*
262, line 5, *note*, for *to entertain* read *from entertaining.*
273, line 10, for *too unsuccessfully* read *too successfully.*
289, line 3, for *escaped* read *ceased.*
369, line 23, *of courtier* read *of a courtier.*

VOL. II.

Page lxxii. (Appendix) line 7, for *transfired* read *transpire.*

INTRODUCTORY APOLOGY.*

To the public, some apology is not less due from the editor of another man's writings, than from an author, who ventures to obtrude his own. It was only in the more humble character (or at most as a commentator) that the writer of this Vindication had at first intended to present himself, and would yet wish to be considered.

In his editorial capacity, he offers, not the trite and hackneyed plea of encouragement given in private by some too partial friends; but repeated calls more or less directly made upon him, in periodical, and other publications: the fact, that John Ashburnham's Narrative is still preserved in his family, being little less known from some extracts given in Collins's Peerage, than that of its former existence, is notorious from lord Clarendon's avowed and recorded condescension in having honoured it with his perusal.

The resolution having been at length taken to comply with these demands, it seemed expedient, as usually practised, to accompany the publication with some biographical notices, and historical illustrations.

The researches after the information necessary for such purposes led to other, and very different discoveries; equally unexpected, surprising, and

* For all the passages quoted from lord Clarendon's History and Life, the references are to the last Oxford edition.

important: so numerous, as well as various, that, if the primary design had not been abandoned, a scanty stream of text would soon have been lost sight of in the wide-spreading inundation of notes and comments.

But if, however reluctantly, he must be raised to the rank and dignity of an author, he is provided with an excuse for the publication of his work, which he offers with as much undisguised confidence, as the work itself with unfeigned diffidence. It is the irresistible impulse of a sacred duty, forbidding him to suppress the means, which in his conscience he believes himself to have acquired, of rescuing innocence from calumny, and merit from detraction. And if this be so on a general principle and in ordinary relations, much more forcibly must it be, as it ought to be, felt in the case of a venerated ancestor: and above all of one, whose chiefest care it has been to preclude from his descendants the painful humiliation of being contaminated by the foul aspersions of his merciless revilers.*

Yet, while he feels secure that the having undertaken such a task will abstractedly be deemed

* "And though for no other motive, yet for this, that my "own posterity may know, I have not stupidly through silence "passed by the heavy censures upon me, there shall be (for "their information) this faithful discourse extant, to settle "their judgement of my integrity to his majesty, and prevent "the irreverence which otherwise may perhaps not only be "paid by them to my memorie, but give them cause (taking "loose reports for granted truths) to loath themselves for being "branches of so unworthy and so wicked a stock." Narrative. p. 62.

even meritorious, he cannot but be aware of the peculiar difficulties, which in this case he has to encounter, and of the peculiar disadvantages under which he is placed. Of these many he will here restrict himself to the notice of one alone: and to impress it he will borrow part of a leaf out of his ancestor's book.

"He, that goes about to persuade multitudes, "that they are not so well informed, as they ought "to be, in things generally received, and deeply "rooted in them, shall never want impatient "hearers. Because men's natural inclinations are "more prone to rest upon what they have already "embraced, and what for a long time hath had "no opposition, than to be curious in the search "after the truth thereof; though it be the truth." This observation of "a grave and most judicious "author on a more divine subject," John Ashford'man says, that he "cannot but make use of, "since it is so very pertinent to his purpose:"—that of preparing a "*Narrative*, which he very "much seems to call a *Vindication*." But it is far more pertinent to the present purpose of supplying that Vindication; which himself would hardly have disdained, could he have foreknown by what arm "the unkindest stab of all," as well as the deepest, would be inflicted on his honour; and from "under what lips" would so forcibly be projected the "adder's poison:" which, from others feebly exuding, he might safely disregard and despise.

In truth, wherever there exists a suspicion, that to be better informed may lead to the thinking

less well of one, whom we have long been taught to admire and revere, the natural reluctance springs from a virtuous propensity. Yet surely the deliberate and persevering indulgence of it is reprehensible; and the avowal of it inconsiderate. Since all honourable, all honest, men have, and ought to feel that they have, their own interest promoted in every fresh instance confirmatory of the great maxim that—"The truth is mighty, and will prevail."

There is no event which the noble historian of the rebellion has so fully and minutely related; none over which he has, in his remarks, so discursively expatiated, or which he has so closely examined, as the king's withdrawing himself from Hampton Court, and repairing to the Isle of Wight. It was natural therefore, if only for that reason, independently of the well-founded reliance on his having had the best means of information, and on the accuracy, candor, and good faith, with which he had availed himself of these advantages, that later historians should adopt his statement of the facts, and his opinion of the transaction. Of these the more popular, Rapin and Hume, manifestly, and avowedly his followers, have in their turn been followed by a numberless host of abridgers and compilers. Hence, it is impossible that any one, whether deeply imbued, or superficially tinged with a knowledge of English history, should not have formed an opinion of Ashburnham's conduct, equally injurious, and unmerited. That such is the only deduction which can be obtained from lord Clarendon's circumstantial

details, so peremptorily and oracularly predicated, it is essential to this Vindication to shew.

Here then of the difficulties and disadvantages, before alluded to, is one most disheartening and appalling. The author of this Vindication sensibly feels that he has already alienated many of his readers, whom he most desires to conciliate; that he has prejudiced against him some, whom he most wishes to convince; and that he shall continue to disgust others, whom he is most ambitious to please.

No one can be more aware than he is, into what utter insignificancy must sink,—at what an immeasurable distance must be cast the lowly services of a groom of the bed-chamber, when compared with those, which transcendent abilities and exalted stations enabled the chancellor to render to his king and country. But in point of honour and integrity; of loyalty to his sovereign, and fidelity to his master; of zeal, attachment, and devotion, he has yet to learn that he is bound to admit any, the least, inferiority; or that it is not for him rather to invite, than to decline, any comparative enquiry, which there are still existing ample means to institute. Surely it cannot be required that the memory of such an ancestor should be held by him less dear, less sacred than that of this illustrious statesman by his descendants. For those noble persons even from early youth he has ever and invariably entertained a sincere regard and an unfeigned respect. And he hopes that by them he shall not now be thought acting inconsistently with the sentiments here

professed, while he obeys the more powerful requisition of a paramount duty.

Surely he is not to be debarred from detecting and exposing calumnies, of which John Ashburnham has been the victim, because of these lord Clarendon has adopted some, and originated others.

Equally sincere and unavailing is the regret here felt, that it is impossible in any case to prove that charges or allegations are false, without convicting him of falsehood, by whom they have been avowedly and notoriously preferred. It remains for his advocates to shew that he has not been a calumniator wilfully, or wittingly.

However it may often be ungenerous, and sometimes even unjustifiable, to retaliate injuries and insults, it cannot be denied that there are occasions wherein retaliation is not only expedient but unavoidably necessary.

When some restless and ambitious power wantonly violates the territory of his peaceful neighbour, he will have little reason to complain, if, on being repulsed, pursuit be carried beyond those boundaries, which himself has been the first to transgress. Nor on the part of the latter will it cease to be a defensive war, when fortune shall have removed the seat of it from the invaded country to that of the invader. The "generous unknown," who often in Spanish romance not less opportunely than gallantly places himself by the side of a cavalier singly engaged in an unequal combat with many, would ill entitle himself to the thanks, which await him, were he only to parry the

assailant's thrusts, and not contribute to disable some of the bravos, and to put the rest to flight.

Whether there be any analogy between these imaginary cases and that, which is the subject of the present enquiry, will hereafter appear. Meanwhile the author pledges himself that in the course of the following Vindication such a proof shall be given of his once submissive, confiding, and entire faith in the supremacy of lord Clarendon's authority, as perhaps not one of all his enthusiastic admirers and zealous votaries can boast of having displayed. (Page 258.)

How many thousands might say of this their idol, (as Rousseau has made Pygmalion say of his statue) " Je ne l'ai point encore examinée; Je " n'ai fait jusq'ici que l'admirer!" To those few, who have not sacrificed, without any reservation, all their faculties, an intellectual holocaust, on the oracular altar of infallible authority: to those few, who take the liberty to judge, or the trouble to think, for themselves, it may be perceptible, that the religious or moral observances of a well disciplined mind had not given to this illustrious personage the controul over his temper; on the contrary that he shews himself prompt to take offence, where none has been intentionally offered; and slow,—slow indeed,—to receive apology, when earnestly and sincerely pressed upon him:

iracundus, inexorabilis.

They may discover that all, the fullest, consciousness of real and intrinsic worth, deservedly conspicuous in the most distinguishing honours, and splendid dignities, in which even a wise man

may be best allowed to pride himself, had not rendered him insensible to the frivolous gratification of a puerile vanity: and that the many endowments, natural and acquired, of a vigorous and enlarged understanding had not wholly excluded such jealousies, suspicions, and enmities, as are usually the characteristics of a feeble and narrow mind.

In one of those highly-finished whole length portraits, which (besides half-lengths, kit-cats, three-quarters and heads innumerable) the noble artist has painted of himself, he is represented to have been a man, who was "in his nature inclined "to pride and passion, and to a humour between "wrangling and disputing very troublesome, "which good company in a short time so much "reformed and mastered, that no man was more "affable and courteous to all kind of persons; "and they who knew the great infirmity of his "whole family, which abounded in passion, used "to say, he had much extinguished the unruliness "of that fire."

Life, p. 77.

"Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret."

Lord Clarendon considered himself as an exception to the Horatian rule; but others saw in him an illustration of it. For they who, not having the advantage of being acquainted with the whole of this very choleric family, could not judge by comparison, seem positively to have formed a very different estimate of his "affability, and courtesy "to all kind of persons." Here may be cited the concurring characters briefly given of him by two of his contemporaries, in every respect the very reverse of each other. Burnet says, "he was

" high ; and was apt to reject those, who addressed " themselves to him with too much contempt."— While the gay and witty author of the " Mémoires " de Grammont," little likely to view any object through the same medium, as it was seen by the grave Protestant Bishop, tells us—" Ce n'est pas " qu'il manquât de capacité ; mais il avait encore ' plus de présomption."

When Charles the second, yielding to counsels more in unison with the dictates of his heart, than of his head, had dismissed this, the most virtuous and able minister of that period,* he undertook, with his own hand, to communicate this his own disgrace to the duke of Ormond, then in Ireland ; of whom it is well known, that the profligate and unprincipled monarch had at least the grace to stand in awe. In this letter, there is no charge or imputation of blame, but simply the complaint of " a certain peevishness of temper." This accusation, though a most insufficient excuse for his removal, was in point of fact well founded ; since lord Clarendon himself admits it, both in his letter to the king, and in his vindication. His much attached and admiring friend Evelyn, has noted of him in his Diary (August 27, 1667)—" The " truth is, that he made few friends, during his " grandeur, among the royal sufferers ; but ad- " vanced the old rebels : he was, however, though " no considerable lawyer, one, who kept up the " form and substance of things, with more so-

*· The earl of Southampton was then no more : and sir Ed. Nicholas, however with less talent, inferior to no one in integrity, had retired from office.

"lemnity, than some would have had. He was "my particular kind friend on all occasions."

Hence, whether, correct or not in point of likeness, this sketch has been delineated by no hostile pencil.

The foregoing extracts may be considered as affording an exhibition of the chancellor in public life: the following gives a glimpse of him in his hours of relaxation and retirement.

"August 15th, 1662. Came my lord chancellor "and his lady: his purse and mace borne before "him to visit me. (N.B. in his villa at Deptford) "—they were likewise collationed with us, and "were very merry. This great person had ever "been my friend."

If, even when deigning thus to share the pastoral feast and rural mirth of the suburban villa, our time-honoured Clarendon could not lay aside the loved insignia of his high office; if even amidst the dog-days there was for him no refreshment in shady arbours, or cool tankards, unless the "graced *"person" of his portly mace-bearer "were present," it is no wonder, among the buffooneries of that "chartered libertine"—

——————— "at council, in a ring
Of mimick'd statesmen, and their merry king,"

that Buckingham should have been particularly successful in personating the lord chancellor with a pair of bellows in his hand instead of the purse; and for the mace, a fire-shovel "borne before him" by colonel Titus.

It is with unfeigned reluctance and regret that

* "Were the graced person of our Banquo present."

the little failings in a great character should be here conspicuously revealed; as if the purpose were to magnify some few dark points of human passion, which, to unaided vision are imperceptibly lost amid the dazzling blaze of godlike attributes. It proceeds from a firm and sincere conviction, that the exposure of them is essential towards the vindication of one, who, not on the conclusive evidence of substantiated facts, but on the arbitrary authority of prejudiced opinion, has been arraigned, tried, and condemned. Justice can never be obtained for Ashburnham, unless it be shewn, how unworthily of himself lord Clarendon has treated him. Nor to this end will even proofs avail, if it be not demonstrable, that there were co-existent in the character of this illustrious statesman far other qualities than those, for which it has been so highly extolled, and loudly celebrated.

But were it not for this sense of duty; could the advocate of this cause reconcile to his conscience the omission, he would gladly avoid subjecting himself to the reproach of sceptical irreverence towards a name, which common consent has long since canonized. He would shrink from incurring the suspicion of being one of those, who can only contemplate a hero with the eyes of his valet de chambre; or who, placed before a colossal statue, even of Grecian sculpture, would be curious only to search for specks, flaws, and blemishes in the material.

POSTSCRIPT.

When it shall be known that the author of this Vindication, now in his seventieth year, can attest

the uniform tenour of a life, throughout which he has as sedulously avoided, as others, at any period of theirs, have sought, to attract public notice; perhaps the foregoing protestations, here solemnly renewed, may be the better entitled to credit. Since it will be evident that the motive, by which alone he professes to have been actuated in this attempt, has also been the only sufficient stimulus to rouse and estrange him from the inveterate indulgence, not of a ruling passion, but of predominant infirmities; — a constitutionally morbid indolence, and reserve.

Perhaps too, for the same reason, his sincerity may be the less questionable, while he deeply laments that an object, in itself so legitimate, should be unattainable but by means so ungracious, irreverent, and offensive.

Not to care whom he may offend, so long as he asserts, or reveals nothing, but what is strictly true is a stoicism, which, as he does not feel, so neither will he boast. But this conviction he dares to avow;—that it is only in so far as the truth is in him, that he can be found capable of provoking resentment; or will be deemed worthy of such manifestations of notice as, if he had not been by others duly warned, he should of himself alone have been enough prepared, to expect;—censure, rebuke, and reproach.

VINDICATION

OF THE CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF

JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

PART I.

" L'Histoire n'est fondée que sur le témoignage " des auteurs, qui nous l'ont transmise. Il im- " porte donc extrêmement, pour la savoir, de bien " connaitre quels étaient ces auteurs. Le tems " ou ils ont vécu, leurs naissances, leur patrie, la " part qu'ils ont eue aux affaires, les moyens par " lesquels ils ont été instruits, et l'intérêt qu'ils y " pourraient prendre sont des circonstances essen- " tielles, qu'il n'est pas permis d'ignorer: de là " dépend le plus ou le moins d'autorité qu'ils doi- " vent avoir, et sans cette connaissance on courra " risque très souvent de prendre pour guide un " historien de mauvaise foi, ou du moins mal in- " formé."* (Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions.)

These two defects, not being incompatible with each other, may sometimes have been united in the same historian. It cannot therefore be inex-

* This very just observation forms the motto to Walpole's " Historical Doubts."

pedient to furnish the reader with the means of judging how lord Clarendon stood affected towards John Ashburnham antecedently to the year 1647, by extracts from that illustrious author's historical and biographical works.

The earliest notice of him occurs at page 108 of Clarendon's Life; where the character of sir John Colepepper is thus given in contrast with his own. "But his (sir John Colepepper's) greatest "advantage was, that he had an entire confidence "and friendship with Mr. John Ashburnham, "whom the king loved, and trusted very much; "and who always imprinted that advice in the "king's mind, which the other had infused; and "being a member of the house, was always ready "to report the service he did his majesty there, "as advantageously as the business would bear."

That a rivalry for the king's favour was at this time subsisting between Mr. Hyde and sir John Colepepper is sufficiently apparent in this passage alone. And that it was attended with no little jealousy and suspicion on the part of the former, is equally observable in others that occur not unfrequently.

In the History of the Rebellion we are informed, that "Berkeley had not found that respect, from "Cromwell and Ireton, that he expected; at least "discerned it to be greater towards Ashburnham, "than it was to him; which he thought evidence "enough of a defect of judgment in them." Perhaps lord Clarendon might have formed his estimate of John Ashburnham's intellectual faculties by the same criterion.

Here it is difficult to refrain from making a remark, to which frequent temptations will occur. In this one sentence we read, that "the king loved "and trusted John Ashburnham very much:" and that sir John Colepepper "had an entire con- "fidence and friendship with him." The king, according to lord Clarendon, "saw and observed "men long before he received them about his "person: and did not like strangers, nor very "confident men." Of sir John Colepepper we are told, that "he was a man of great parts, a very "sharp and present wit, and an universal under- "standing." And yet this is the king and this the statesman, who with all their penetration, discernment, and circumspection, lavished, the one his love and trust; the other his friendship and confidence, on a man whom lord Clarendon usually represents as destitute of every estimable quality, or talent.

The first direct and deliberate attack on John Ashburnham is made at page 196 of Clarendon's Life; and is entitled—

"The chancellor of the exchequer's office in- "vaded by Mr. Ashburnham."

"The chancellor of the exchequer had under- "gone some mortification during the short abode "at Bristol, which was the only port of trade "within the king's quarters; which was like to "yield a considerable benefit to the king, if it "were well managed; and the direction thereof "belonged entirely to his office: but when he sent "to the officers of the customs, to be informed of "the present state of trade, he found that some

" treaty was made, and order given in it by Mr. " Ashburnham, a groom of the bedchamber; who, " with the assistance and advice of sir John Cole- " pepper, had prevailed with the king to assign " that province to him, as a means to raise a " present sum of money for the supply of the " army: which the chancellor took very heavily; " and the lord Falkland, out of his friendship to " him, more tenderly; and expostulated it with " the king with some warmth; and more pas- " sionately with sir John Colepepper and Mr. " Ashburnham, as a violation of the friendship " they professed to the chancellor, and an invasion " of his office; which no man bears easily.

" They were both ashamed of it, and made " some weak excuses, of incogitance and inad- " vertence; and the king himself, who discerned " the mischief that would ensue, if there should " be an apparent schism amongst those he so en- " tirely trusted, was pleased to take notice of it to " the chancellor, with many gracious expressions; " and said, ' that Mr. Ashburnham being trea- " ' surer and paymaster of the army, he did believe " ' some money might have been raised for the " ' present occasion; and only intended it for the " ' present, without considering it would be an " ' invasion of his right; and therefore directed, " ' that an account should be given to him of all, " ' that had been done, and he should do as he " ' thought fit.' But when he understood all, that " had been done, he would make no alteration in " it, that his majesty might be convinced that his " service was not looked after in the design. And

" it was discernible enough, that Mr. Ashburnham, " who usually looked very far before him, had not " so much intended to disoblige the chancellor, as, " by introducing himself this way into the customs, " to continue one of the farmers of the customs, " when the war should be at an end; of which he " got a promise from the king at the same time; " who had a great affection for him, and an ex- " traordinary opinion of his managery. If there " remained after this any jealousy or coldness be- " tween the chancellor of the exchequer and the " other two, as the disparity between their natures " and humours made some believe there did, it " never brake out or appeared, to the disturbance " or prejudice of the king's service; but all pos- " sible concurrence in the carrying it on was " observed between them."

I.

" The chancellor of the exchequer's office in- " vaded by Mr. Ashburnham, a groom of the " bedchamber."

That Ashburnham was a groom of the bedchamber, is matter of not less notoriety, than his having existed; and that he did that, which is here termed invading the chancellor of the exchequer's office, instead of there being any wish to deny, an authentic and inedited document shall be adduced to prove. So far then " the truth, " and nothing but the truth," has been told; but inasmuch as the " whole truth" has not been told, we have here a statement as fallacious in effect, (whatever it may have been in design) as if it

contained with the truth no slight admixture of falsehood. And surely where the "suppressio "veri," is not less injurious, than the "suggestio "falsi," either is alike disreputable to the accusing party.

Neither from this passage, nor from any other in lord Clarendon's Historical Works, often as Ashburnham is mentioned in them, would it be supposed, that he had ever held any other situation, or had been ever known in any other character, than the one, by which he is here designated. Who then from the first publication of lord Clarendon's Life to the present moment can have read, without emotions of amazement, indignation and disgust of the chancellor of the exchequer's office invaded by a groom of the bedchamber? Or who can cite a parallel instance of effrontery, presumption, and arrogance, unless it be when the two thrones of Brentford were simultaneously invaded by a physician and a gentleman usher? Mention indeed is subsequently made of Ashburnham's being "treasurer and paymaster of "the Army:" but surely it is in such a way, as rather to discredit, than to affirm it as a fact. "The king said so." Is it not then the natural inference, that the chancellor of the exchequer had never before heard of it? And thus the whole, of what the king is represented to have said, has the appearance of an indulgent master's endeavour to palliate the transgression of a favourite servant.

But the real case is, that Ashburnham had *his* office,—whatever might be its style and title,—or, whether, or not, it had any at all. The document,

above alluded to, is entitled—" A true and perfect " accompt of all such monies, as have been re- " ceived and paid for your majesty's service, and " by your appointment, by John Ashburnham " from the 1st of April, 1642, to the 26th of Oc- " tober, 1643."*

In this account will be seen; first, the sum of money obtained from the customs of Bristol; secondly, that there are other items† apparently indicating as much an invasion of the chancellor of the exchequer's office; thirdly, that the office was of so comprehensive, multifarious, and undefined a nature, as that it could not fail sometimes of coming in contact, or rather clashing, with that of the chancellor of the exchequer, amidst the confusion, disorder, and anarchy necessarily attendant on civil war; fourthly, that Ashburnham

* Not only as a voucher for what is here advanced, but as the perusal may be otherwise not uninteresting, this document is given entire in the Appendix.

† In the ledger for 1643, wherein are enumerated the Payments made to the several regiments, there are the entries of many miscellaneous disbursements, little to be expected to have passed through the hands of the treasurer and paymaster of the army,—such as

" To his majesty—for his occasions.
" To the queen—ditto.
" To the prince of Wales—ditto.
" Duke of York—ditto.
" Prince Rupert—ditto.
" The lady Falkland—ditto.
and
" To the clerks of the exchequer ! ! !

This last the chancellor might well have protested against, as one, " the direction whereof belonged entirely to his office."

had been entrusted with it twelve months before Mr. Hyde was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; fifthly, that this must have been matter of notoriety and of approval, to the king's ministers, to his court, to the army, and to the royalists in general; and sixthly, to sir Edward Hyde in particular,—as there are entries of sums paid to him, and received from him. In like manner appears also the name of lord Falkland.

In addition to these considerations it may be submitted as little credible, that the customers (as they were then called) should have treated, much less that they should have concluded any arrangement, with John Ashburnham, unless they had known him to be in the exercise of other functions, than those of a groom of the bedchamber.

II.

"Bristol which was the only port of trade "within the king's quarters; which was likely to "yield a considerable benefit to the king, if it "were well managed; and the direction thereof "belonged entirely to his (chancellor of the ex-"chequer's) office."

In the Section immediately preceding the one now under our examination, we read—"The set-"tlement of the port, which was of infinite im-"portance to the king in point of trade, and his "customs with reference to Ireland—" &c.

Surely the more "considerable" this "benefit" and the more "infinite" this importance" and the more "entirely the direction thereof belonged to

"the chancellor of the exchequer's office," the more extraordinary it is, that Ashburnham, with all his "managery," should have managed to anticipate sir Edward Hyde in his treaty with the officers of the customs. The possibility of which the latter might, and ought to have, entirely precluded. Neither is it reasonable, that a man should complain of a "mortification" he has "undergone," or claim redress of a grievance, which he has suffered, when it is evident, that such can only have originated in his own "laches"* and supineness.

It is difficult to discover precisely when Mr. Hyde was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. The noble Historian's *dates*, like Falstaff's *reasons*, not being so "plenty as blackberries." It appears, however, that he was holding that office early in the year 1643. Bristol was not invested till the 22d, and surrendered on the 26th of July. Sir Edward Hyde was therefore a minister long before that enterprise could have been projected,—And however others of his majesty's council, who suggested, planned, or executed it, might have overlooked the vast advantages, likely to accrue from its success, to the king's finances; although Prince Rupert might have looked no further than to the "Pride, Pomp and Circumstance of glorious War," and lord Falkland, of whom we are told, that "peace was his dear delight," might only have contemplated in it the nearer approach to that "consummation devoutly to be wished;" yet it

* Laches—A law-term signifying "slackness or negligence." (Law Dict.)

must have been an object, which could not have escaped the vigilant eye of a chancellor of the exchequer; especially of one new in office, and who did not "despair of enabling himself by industry to execute it."*

Anxiously awaiting the fall of Bristol, yet aware that so long as the king should remain at Oxford, the presence of a chancellor of the exchequer (whom his majesty consulted generally on all transactions, but more particularly employed in those, which appertained to the secretary of state's office) could not be dispensed with, one should naturally suppose, that sir Edward Hyde would have been prepared, on the first receipt of this joyful and glorious intelligence, to despatch instantly some confidential agent, in order that without loss of time "some treaty might be made "and order given" towards an arrangement with the customs. Now, until Bristol had actually surrendered, Ashburnham could have had no intercourse with the officers of the customs of that port. But lord Clarendon tells us, that "his "majesty resolved, *the next day after the news* to "go himself to Bristol." Accordingly on the 1st of August he left Oxford, taking with him, of his ministers, only lord Falkland, sir John Colepepper and sir Edward Hyde. Lord Clarendon does not say that he discovered on his first arrival, that Ashburnham had got the start of him. The

* Mr. Hyde's answer to the king on his appointment was—"That though it was an office much above his merit, he did not "despair of enabling himself by industry to execute it, which "he would do with all fidelity." (Life, page 170.)

"mortification" is said to have been undergone "*during* the short abode at Bristol." Now admitting, that more important cares demanded the chancellor of the exchequer's earlier attention, a message to the officers of the customs, intimating, that they would be sent for by him at his leisure, would have effectually closed their ears to any propositions from a groom of the bedchamber.

Lord Clarendon states, that there were three reasons, that determined the king to go to Bristol. The first, to compose the jealousies and disputes, which had so unfortunately arisen between his nephews, and the marquis of Hertford; secondly, the settlement of the port; thirdly, "the apply-"ing the army to some new enterprise, which "could not be done without his majesty's pre-"sence." But there was something besides the king's presence, without which no new enterprise could be undertaken; something, to which it behoved "the treasurer and paymaster of the army," ex officio, to attend; something, as we learn from the best authority, which the port of Bristol could yield more readily and abundantly than any other within the king's quarters—money.

Ashburnham, as we are repeatedly told, was "as entirely trusted by the king, as any man in "England, so that he could not be ignorant of "any thing, that moved him." He must therefore have been as well apprized, as sir Edward Hyde, of all these circumstances, which we now learn from the noble historian. He must have known, that there was much confusion in the

administration generally; and that little regard had been paid to the adaptation of talent, natural or acquired, to the particular duties of the several departments. He must have known, that his friend sir John Colepepper, who had been recently made master of the rolls, was no lawyer; and that on the contrary sir Edward Hyde, for whom the place of chancellor of the exchequer had been expressly vacated, was a lawyer. He must have known that the latter had been so appointed, not because he had any experience, skill, taste, or turn for finance, but because he was admirably gifted with some of those qualities which peculiarly fitted him for the office of secretary of state. He must have known, that the real motive of the king's haste to remove to Bristol, was "to be absent "from his council at Oxford, when he should "settle these differences," which to his great concern were prevailing between the princes his nephews, and lord Hertford; being aware, that "the lords of the council were solicitous that the "marquis might receive no injustice or disobliga-"tion." He must have known too, how slowly, and how hopelessly, the work of pacification between the said parties was going on; and probably how much to the neglect and prejudice of all other affairs. Was it then, under all these circumstances, so heinous, so inexpiable a crime in the treasurer and paymaster of the army, with the king's knowledge, approbation, and authority; and so advised and encouraged by a minister of state, to perform a duty, which, in other times, as it strictly "belonged to the chancellor of the

"exchequer's office," would not have been left unperformed. If this was to invade office, it was as Milton says—

——— "to invade vacant possession."

Not less fairly in extenuation, if not in justification, of this interference may be pleaded its result; the attainment of one of the three objects of the king's journey, namely, "the applying the army "to some new enterprise without loss of time." It was not till the 2d of August that the king arrived at Bristol. On the 10th of the same month Gloucester was invested and summoned. This could hardly have been so soon effected, if "some "treaty had not been made, and order given "therein by a groom of the bedchamber," before the chancellor of the exchequer bethought himself of "sending to be informed of the present state of trade." "Il faut toujours garder les formalités, quoiqu'il puisse arriver"—such was the dictum of one of Molière's physicians; who further declared, that he would rather kill a patient, according to the established rules, than cure him by any departure from them. On the same principle lord Clarendon seems to have thought it better, that Gloucester should never have been invested at all, than by an army, set in motion by ways and means, which the chancellor of the exchequer had not himself regularly provided, formally budgeted, and officially recommended.

III.

"An invasion of his office; which *no man* bears "easily."

" Every body knew that Mr. Hyde was trusted " by the king in his most secret transactions; but " *he was under no character in his service.*" In order therefore effectually to remove all the inconveniences arising from his not being invested with any official trust, the king " was resolved to " make secretary Nicholas master of the wards: " and then (these were his majesty's own words) " I must make Ned Hyde, secretary of state: for " the truth is, I can trust nobody else." This is not to be wondered at, after having been told that, while " *as yet having no relation of service,*" though lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper were, both, what is now termed cabinet ministers, " his principles were much more agreeable to his " majesty's own judgment, than those of either of " the other; and what he said was equal autho- " rity with him; and when any advice was given " by either of the other, the king usually asked, " whether Ned Hyde were of that opinion."

On the king's announcing this resolution, Mr. Hyde declined the intended honour; alleging, besides other reasons highly creditable to him, " that he knew he was very unfit for it, and unable " to discharge it."—To which the king replied, with a little anger, that " *he did the greatest part* " *of the business now.*"—What was this doing of the secretary of state's business, but that, which according to lord Clarendon should be called— " the invasion of the secretary of state's office?" And this by one, who was " under *no character in* " *the king's service:*"—not even so much as that of a groom of the bedchamber.

Lord Clarendon goes on to relate, that when Mr. Hyde went, by the king's command, to apprise secretary Nicholas of the proposed arrangements, the latter, instead of "bearing very heavily this "mortification," (of which he could not have been ignorant for some time past) received him "with "a cheerful countenance, and embracing him "called him his son."

IV.

"The king who had a great affection for him, "(John Ashburnham) and an extraordinary opi-"nion of his managery," &c.

There is naturally a propensity to believe the man, whom we love, to be really such as we are desirous that he should be. Here we shall find that the king's opinion, extraordinary as it was, of Ashburnham's "managery," was entertained by one, who most certainly had not for Ashburnham the king's "great affection."

"The king directed that an account should be "given to the chancellor of the exchequer of all, "that had been done, and he should do as he "thought fit. But when he understood all, that "had been done, he would make no alteration in "it."

Surely it would be not only unjust, but irreverent, to suppose that sir Edward Hyde would thus have sanctioned, or adopted the financial 'coup d'essai' of a groom of the bedchamber, if after a thorough investigation, it had been discovered in anywise detrimental to the king's present

or future interests. If, through want of skill, it had failed to secure all that "considerable be-"nefit which the port of Bristol might have yielded, "if well managed;" or if, through excess of zeal, exacting too much, it had risked to alienate the good disposition of a class of his majesty's subjects, whom it was more especially politic to conciliate; the chancellor of the exchequer without doubt would instantly have cancelled the improvident agreement. But above all, if aught of peculation or malversation had transpired; had there been the evidence to shew, or the ground to suspect, such corrupt and fraudulent practices, as twenty years after lord Clarendon himself was charged withal; had it appeared, that John Ashburnham—"had prevailed to have his majesty's "customs farmed at a lower rate, than others "offered; and that by persons, with some of "of whom he went a share," we may be sure, that the chancellor of the exchequer would have exposed the gross delinquency of a worthless favourite:—if only for the salutary purpose of convincing the king, how much his partiality was misplaced, and his confidence abused.

See the 5th and 6th Articles of the Charge.

Admitting, that never was impeachment more groundless than that of lord Clarendon for high treason; yet may it fairly and consistently be doubted, whether this particular charge would have been twice brought forward, both in 1663, by the earl of Bristol, and again in 1667 by the house of commons, unless lord Clarendon had had some concern in the management of the customs; "some treaty made, and some order given;" though

doubtless much to the advantage of the crown, and to his own honour. When therefore we are told that "the direction thereof belonged entirely to the "chancellor of the exchequer's office," so much so, that even to treat with the officers of the customs is an "invasion" of it; surely the chancellor of the exchequer of that day, if jealous, as sir Edward Hyde had been, of the inviolability of his department, would have made no discrimination between Trojan and Tyrian; but would have considered his office equally invaded, whether by the lord high chancellor, or by a groom of the bedchamber.

But the possible case, here hypothetically suggested, was for a time effectually precluded by lord Clarendon's continuing chancellor of the exchequer three years after he had been appointed lord high chancellor of England. Besides which he was at the restoration secretary of state, a commissioner of the treasury, and also of the customs. Not so much prime,—as sole,—minister. In truth, his royal master was well content, or rather desired nothing more than that the chancellor should invade the office of king, so long as himself might be allowed to invade that of his own master of the revels.* Biographia Britannica: and Clarendon's Life: Continuation.

V.

"But when he understood all, that had been "done, he would make no alteration in it, that his "majesty might be convinced that *his service was* "*not looked after* in the design."

To justify the chancellor for having ratified, or

* A place at court abolished in 1782.

for having made no alteration in Ashburnham's agreement with the officers of the customs, there could be no other sufficient reason or excuse, than —either, if not absolutely unobjectionable, there was at least nothing in it so objectionable, as necessarily to require its being cancelled, or amended; or else, on account of its having been once concluded, to have set it aside, and substituted another, however better, might have induced more inconvenient if not injurious consequences. But of all insufficient reasons and excuses, surely none can be imagined less admissible, or less creditable, than the one, which is here so strangely and unaccountably, because so gratuitously and voluntarily, advanced.

"That his majesty might be convinced, that *his* "*service* was not looked after in the design." Whose service? According to grammar, the answer may be, the king's; but according to reason, it must be the chancellor of the exchequer's. Nothing surely can be more irrational than to suppose, that the latter is here wishing, that the king should be convinced, that *his majesty's service* was not looked after in the design of the chancellor of his exchequer. Little less probable is it, that sir Edward Hyde would make no alteration in this agreement, for the sake of convincing the king, that the royal interests had not been looked after in *Ashburnham's* "*design.*" Because that end would have been more completely attained by the very opposite means: namely, the substituting of the more advantageous bargain; and thus, the two having been brought into

contrast, practically to have demonstrated the impolicy, improvidence, or dishonesty of the original contract.

Be it further considered; who alone could be benefited by the king's conviction, that the whole mind and soul of the chancellor of the exchequer were exclusively absorbed in "designing the service" of his sovereign and his country? To whose honour alone could it redound, that sir Edward Hyde should be deemed a stranger to all unworthy jealousies, and disparaging rivalries? To whose sole advantage could it conduce, that honest Ned Hyde should be thought the most placable, if not the least irritable of men?

"Asperitatis, et invidiæ, corrector et iræ:"

in short, that he should appear to be the very reverse of that, which, by his own confession, he really was?

However irreverent, even to profaneness, it may be to impute such sentiments and views to this illustrious personage; that such an imputation is not unwarranted, shall be proved in another instance, on his own spontaneous and incontrovertible testimony; recorded in language, which though also his own, is neither equivocal nor ambiguous, as it too often is; and in which alone the statement can be credited.

It was early in 1649 when Charles the second, having then recently succeeded to the title of his royal father, was at the Hague, that "the lord "(treasurer) Cottington took occasion to confer "with the chancellor of the exchequer (with "whom he held a strict friendship, they living

History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 310.

" and keeping house together) of the ill condition " the king was in &c."—And concluded with saying, " that, if the king would be advised by him, " he should send them two thither," (that is to Spain) : " and he did believe they should do him " very good service."

" The chancellor was weary of the company, " he was in, and the business, which, having no " respect but towards despair, was yet rendered
P. 312. " more grievous by the continual contentions and " animosities between persons. He knew he was " not in the queen's favour at all, and should find " no respect in that court. However, he was very " *scrupulous, that the king might not suspect that* " *he was weary of his attendance, or that any body* " *else might believe that he withdrew himself from* " *waiting longer upon so desperate a fortune.** In

* In Pepys's Diary is related, how (July 4, 1664) he waited on the lord chancellor, in order to appease the wrath, which he and other commissioners of the navy had excited, by directing, as they were authorized, some trees to be cut down in Clarendon Park for the king's use. He concludes thus—" I think I did thoroughly appease him; till he thanked me for my desire and pains to satisfy him: and upon my desiring to be directed, who of his servants I should advise with on this business—he told me—*nobody:* but would be glad to hear from me *himself.* He told me *he* would not direct me in anything, that it might not be said the lord chancellor did labour to abuse the king; or (as I offered) direct the suspending the report of the purveyors. But I see *what he means;* and will make it *my work* to do *him service* in it."

" July 18, 1664.—I went to my lord chancellor, and discussed his business with him. I perceive,—and *he says plainly,* that he will not have any man to have it in his power to say that my lord chancellor did contrive the wronging of the king of his

" the end, he told the lord Cottington, that he " would only be passive in the point; and refer it " entirely to him, if he thought fit to dispose " the king to like it; and if the king approved of " it so much as to take notice of it to the chan- " cellor, and commend it as a thing he thought " for his service, he would *submit to his majesty's* " *command.*"

The lord Cottington having thus ascertained that Mr. chancellor of the exchequer had no objection to partake of these Spanish chesnuts, provided that he risked not the burning of his fingers, immediately set about roasting them: and with equal alacrity, intrepidity, skill, and success got them out of the fire without injury to his own.— " For he managed so warily with the king and " presented the whole scheme to him so dexter- " ously,* that his majesty was much pleased with " it; and shortly after declared his resolution pub- " licly, to send the lord Cottington, and the chan- " cellor of the exchequer, his ambassadors extra-

Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. 6, p. 313.

timber: *but yet I see he would be glad to have service done him therein:* and told me that sir G. Carteret hath told him, that he and I would look after the business to *see it done in the best manner for him.*"

* Surely it needed not all the lord treasurer's *wariness* and *dexterity* to recommend to his majesty " the whole scheme," or more correctly speaking, the ostensible parts of it; when we are told, that it professedly was " to obtain a sum of money; if " not as much as might serve for a martial expedition, yet such " an annual exhibition as might serve for his support." Since exhibitions such as this, no matter how or where obtained, were always acceptable to his unscrupulous and dissipated master: and the more so as being most conducive to other exhibitions, for which his majesty is well known to have retained through life a very decided partiality.

P. 310.

" ordinary into Spain; and commanded them to " prepare their *own* commission and instructions; " and to begin their journey as soon as was pos- " sible."

Although less strictly in point with respect to the particular subject now under consideration, it is by no means irrelevant to the general purpose of this disquisition, to add here what were the real objects of this important political measure; its origin, prosecution, and termination. But even if it were, the matter in itself is too curious not to justify a digression. The recital of them shall be given in extracts from lord Clarendon's own pages; because on any other authority, as has been already observed, it cannot be credited.

Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. 6, p. 309.

" The lord Cottington who had a just excuse " from his age, being then seventy-five years old, " to wish to be in some repose, considered with " himself how to become disentangled from the " fatigues of those voyages and journeys, which " he saw the king would be obliged to make. In " Holland he had no mind to stay, having never " loved that people, nor been loved by them; " and he thought that the climate itself was very " pernicious to his health, by reason of the gout, " which frequently visited him. France was as " ungrateful to him, where he had not been " kindly treated." " So that *he was willing to find* " *a good occasion to spend the remainder of his age,* " *where he had spent so much of his youth, in* " *Spain.*" This wished for occasion presented itself in the resolution being taken, that the king should in person attempt an expedition to Ireland. Hence originated the lord treasurer's proposal to

the chancellor of the exchequer " that they two " should be sent to Spain," which sufficiently accounts for " his heart's being so much set upon " this employment." The reasons for the latter's ready, though prudently conditional, acquiescence, so far at least as to the " *quitting a company, of* " *which he was weary*," *and an attendance, of which he was equally weary*; (provided always, as it was here provided, that the king should not suspect, that he was so,) have been already stated. But it remains to be shewn, why " he was ex- " ceedingly pleased with the commission." It was " because, he did believe that he should in " some degree *improve his understanding*, and very " much *refresh his spirits*."

As the chancellor " was wont to say, that of the " infinite blessings, which God had vouchsafed to " confer upon him almost from his cradle, he es- " teemed himself so happy in none as in his *three* " *acquiescences*; which he called his *three vaca-* " *tions and retreats he had in his life enjoyed from* " *business of trouble and vexation*:" and as the second of these *acquiescences* was on this occasion of his embassy extraordinary into Spain; during which " he did still acknowledge, that he did " receive much refreshment and benefit: though " the employment proved ineffectual to the pur- " poses for which it was intended;" (or rather pre- tended) " and mended his understanding in the " observation and experience of another kind of " negotiation, than he had formerly been ac- " quainted with."

Continuation of Lord Clarendon's Life, p. 458.

P. 479.

And as " the less of business he had, he was " the more vacant to study the language, and the

" manners and the government of that nation"—it is not to be wondered at, that however much he has dilated " con amore" on this truly gratifying reminiscence, both in his history, and in his life, he should in the continuation of his life have entered into fresh details.

From these the following are extracted: which shew, in what manner the lord high treasurer " managed so warily with the king, and presented " the whole scheme so dexterously," without committing or betraying his chosen colleague.

At the first private audience, which the lord Cottington had of the king, he only recommended the measure of *his* being sent alone on this embassy. " This was too reasonable not to make " an impression on the king." The next day he proposed, that, on account of his being so old and infirm, " he might have a companion with him, " of more youth and a stronger constitution:" and in fine proposed, " that the chancellor of the ex- " chequer might be joined in the commission with " him:" &c.

Pages 476, 477, 478.

" The king was surprised with the overture; " and asked ' whether the chancellor would be " ' willing to undertake the employment, and " ' whether he had spoken with him of it.' To " which the other presently replied, that *he knew* " *not, nor had ever spoken to him of it, nor would* " *do, till his majesty, if he liked it, should first* " *prepare him;* for he knew well, *he would at* " *first be startled at it,* and it may be might *take* " *it unkindly.*"

It will now be seen, that the Nisus, who first projected this notable enterprise, could not have

made choice of a youthful Euryalus, better qualified to second him:

"When the king spake to him of it, as a thing, "that had resulted from his own thoughts"—The chancellor did not "*dissemble the apprehension*, "*that this device had been contrived at Paris.*— "But the king quickly expelled that jealousy. "And he desired *a short time to consider of it*: and "received such reasons (besides kindness in the "invitation) from the lord Cottington, that he "did not *submit only to the king's pleasure*, but "very willingly undertook the employment."

Having, not without difficulty, as is circumstantially related, found the ways and means of effecting their journey to Madrid, at the king's expence; on their waiting to take leave of the queen-mother, she declared her opinion to be, that it would prove "*fruitless, as to any advantage the* "*king would receive from it*," and her majesty might have added— Life, vol. i. p. 262.

"I tell you that, which you yourselves do know."*

* "She (further) said, that she did desire, that he might always be about his majesty's person; not only because she thought he understood the business of England better than any body else, but because she knew that he loved the king, and would always give him good counsel towards his living virtuously," &c.

"This (his appointment,) was no sooner known than *all kinds of people*, who agreed in nothing else, murmured and complained of this counsel, and the more, because it had *never been mentioned or debated in council.*" Hist. vol. vi. p. 313, 14.

"They *who loved him were sorry for him* and themselves; they thought he deserted a path he had long trod, and was well acquainted with, and was henceforward to move, *extra*

For when this royal prediction had been fully verified, we find, that their excellencies "*rested for* "*some time without giving the court any further* "*trouble; and enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant* "*retreat from business.*" And as we are further told, that during their protracted sojourn among the Spaniards, "the chancellor of the exchequer "betook himself to the learning their language, "by reading their books; of which he made a "good collection:"—there is every reason to conclude, that he more than "in some degree im-"proved his understanding." And since his accounts of the entertainments, given at court in celebration of the king's marriage, (such as their masquerades, running at the ring, and bull-feasts,) are so ample and animated, as to bespeak an attentive, and delighted spectator, there can be no doubt, that he must "very much have refreshed* "his spirits."

Life, vol. i. p. 75.

Hist. vol. vi. p. 390.

sphæram activitatis, in an office, he had not been acquainted with.—And there were many, who were *very sorry out of particular duty to the king*; who being young, they thought might be without that counsel and advertisements which they knew well he would still administer to him."

* The chancellor's spirits, however impaired, could hardly have needed refreshment so much as did his memory; else he would not have related with the utmost self-complacency how he did the very things, which he so much censures and condemns others for having done. For instance; he charges Colepepper with an intention to keep the place of chancellor of the exchequer, "until he should get into quiet possession of the rolls," which implies certainly a future, probably a distant, and, as it eventually proved, a time, which never came to pass. Yet he himself thought it unnecessary to resign the former of these offices after not only having been appointed to his embassy

Life, vol. i. p. 171.

"Dii immortales! homini homo quid præstat! stulto intelligens
"Quid interest! Hoc adeo ex hâc re venit in mentem mihi."

While sir Andrew Ague-cheek is lamenting, that he "had not bestowed that time on the "tongues, which he had in fencing, dancing, and "bear-baiting;" as though the two pursuits were absolutely incompatible; behold! sir Edward Hyde, not less successful, than diligent in both: and thus effectually securing the only two real objects of his diplomatic mission:—the improvement of his understanding, and the refreshment of his spirits.

That there was no delay in taking the first steps towards the attainment of this important object, most satisfactory proof is given. Fortunately the ambassadors extraordinary arrived at Madrid, when his most catholic majesty was celebrating his recent nuptials amidst the most joyous and splendid festivities. They were shortly waited on by a gentleman, sent by the prime minister, Don Lewis de Haro, "to invite their excellencies to "all the fiestas; and to apprize them, that there "would be places provided for them. The chan- "cellor went *that afternoon* to the place assigned: "where he saw the masquerade, and the running "of the course: and the toros the day following." "And so for two or three days together." Surely the aforesaid worthy knight of Illyria never evinced a more laudable alacrity and solicitude for the refreshment of spirits; though he says of himself— "I am a fellow of the strangest mind i' th' world:

Hist. vol. vi. p. 369.

Life, vol. i. p. 266.

extraordinary, but when he had "got into quiet (in truth *very quiet*) possession of it."

" and delight in masks and revels sometimes alto-
" gether."*

How far the chancellor of the exchequer's residence at Madrid may be fairly termed *protracted*, he has enabled the reader to judge. " All ways
Hist. vol. vi. p. 458. " were taken to make them—(the ambassadors)

* Among the heretofore suppressed passages, now restored in the last edition, we find, that even during his journey the extraordinary ambassador was not unmindful of those duties, which at Madrid were principally to engage his attention: for he says, that he and his noble colleague " chose rather to make " use of mules, till they came to Vittoria, ... than to wait for " their letters at St. Sebastian's, of which they were heartily " weary; either because they had been compelled to stay there " near twenty days against their will, or that it be indeed a most " unpleasant place to live in, and where there are no kinds of " *divertisements.*"

Hist. vol. vi. p. 362.

It seems, that the latter of the two was the more cogent reason; because, notwithstanding their impatience to enter upon their diplomatic functions, " when they came to Burgos, the " Magistrates invited them to see the *toros*, which was per-" formed the next day." So " they staid that day to see the " fight."

On his first arrival at Madrid, the chancellor of the exche-
P. 370. quer was immediately struck with the great superiority of the bulls to those of Burgos; " where they were much tamer, and
P. 372. " where they were not charged by men on horseback, and little " harm done." The less perhaps on account of their not being so charged. For at Madrid, there were in one of those days " no fewer than sixteen horses, as good as any in Spain, ... " killed, and four or five men; besides many more of both " hurt: and some men remained perpetually maimed." This " was indeed to " find no boy's play here;" but " harm" enough " done" to satisfy any spectator, ' ut-quamvis avido.'

N. B. For a full and particular description of these Iberian Circenses, see lord Clarendon's life. And for curious and interesting Anecdotes, connected with the same, his *History of the Rebellion and Civil War in England* may be consulted with advantage.

" —perceive, that it was heartily wished they were " gone; which they were resolved to take no " notice of. In the end one morning the secre- " tary of state came to them from the king; and " told them, ' that they had been now *above a* " ' *year* in that court, where they had been well " ' treated, notwithstanding some miscarriages, " ' which might very justly have incensed his " ' catholic majesty,.....that they were *extra-* " ' *ordinary** ambassadors, and so needed not any " ' letters of revocation; that they had received " ' answers to all they had proposed, and were at " ' liberty to depart; which his catholic majesty " ' desired they would do.' "

" O' that mine adversary had written a book;" had he been an auto-biographer, a book written by his adversary might very possibly have stood Job in better stead, than all the oral comfort administered by his friends.

Much curious matter in this extraordinary relation of an extraordinary embassy will yet remain unnoticed, after one more extract from it. From their first entrance into Spain, the ambassadors had met with every possible discouragement, even to insult; which could not but have forced them to abandon their mission, if there had been the slightest reality in the pretended and ostensible objects of it. They had written letters requesting that passports might be sent to them at St. Sebastian; and that *a house might be provided for them at Madrid.* When after some delay the passport was received, they found themselves styled in it the ambassadors of the prince

* That they were indeed.

of Wales: and no notice taken of the application for *a house*. After a month's delay at St. Sebastian, and that the wilful mistake, as to their titles, had been rectified, they proceeded on their journey as far as Alcavendas, within three leagues of Madrid. There they were joined by sir Benjamin Wright, the British minister, who informed them, that all things were in the same state: "that *no* "*house was yet prepared for their reception*; and "that there was an evident want of attention for "them in the court." "Upon this new mortifica- "tion, they writ again to don Lewis de Haro, to "desire, that they might not be put to stay there "*for want of a house*: and *so* be exposed to con- "tempt. Nor were they accommodated in that "place in any degree." This remonstrance proving not more successful, than the former, "after "a week's stay in that little town, and ill accom- "modation, ... they went privately in the "evening into Madrid in sir Benjamin Wright's "coach, and came to his house: and if they had "not been thus accommodated, they must have "been exposed to reproach and infamy by the "very little respect, they received from the court." "The court well enough knew of their arrival, but "took no notice of it." At last lord Cottington requested and obtained a private audience of the prime minister.

Life, vol. i. p. 264.

Hist. vol. vi. p. 364, &c.

Still however, "there was *yet no house provided* "*for them*, which they took very heavily; and "believed, that it might advance *that* business, if "they had once a public reception as ambassa- "dors; and *therefore* they resolved to demand an "audience."

Life, vol. i. p. 273, &c.

Now what can be meant by "*that business*," but *the getting of a house?* and to what else can the "*therefore*" relate, of having demanded an audience? Surely then it is a fair and natural inference, that, had they found on their arrival a house provided, they might possibly not have thought of applying for an audience at all.

The request, of being admitted to a public audience, having been granted;—"Don Lewis came "to be advertised that the ambassadors had pre- "pared mourning for themselves, and all their "train, against their audience; which was true; "*for they thought it the most proper dress to ap-* "*pear in, and to demand assistance, to revenge the* "*murder of their master, it being yet within the* "*year.*" It is very clear, that Don Lewis *thought* so too; nay more, that in his opinion it was *the only one*, in which they could possibly appear on such an occasion, and for such a purpose; and therefore, (the object being to delay as long as possible, if it should prove impracticable to evade altogether, their being publicly acknowledged,) "sent to them, that he hoped that when the whole "court was *in gala*, upon the joy of the marriage "of the king, and to give the queen a cheerful re- "ception, they would not dishonour the festival "by appearing *in luto*, which the king could "but take unkindly; which, he said, he thought "to advertise them out of friendship."*

* Could the chancellor have been permitted till now to take his station, evening after evening,—

"Robed in the sable garb of woe,"

amidst the gorgeous bravery of royal revels, or the radiant gallantry of chivalrous carousals?

"Whereupon, as well to comply in an affair "which seemed to have somewhat of reason in it, "as out of apprehension, that from hence they "(that is to say Don Lewis) might take occasion "to defer their audience, they changed their pur- "pose, and caused new clothes to be made; and "then sent to demand their audience."

This could no longer be refused: and having thus outwitted the Spanish minister, the result was such, as they anticipated; *for they immediately* "*had a house provided for them* in the "Calle de Alcala, belonging to the marquis of "Villa Magna, to whom the king paid four hun- "dred pounds sterling by the year."

Hist. vol. vi. p. 381.

There it was that "they rested for some time "(above a year) without giving the court any "further trouble, and enjoyed themselves in no "unpleasant retreat from business; if they could "have put off the thought of the miserable con- "dition of their master, and *their own particular* "*concernments* in their own country."

Life, vol. i. p. 275, 6.

"Denique, si conferendum exemplum est:" let the reader, who delights in the contemplation of powerful contrast, first turn his eyes to the chancellor's future illustrious colleagues, and friends; to Ormond in Ireland, and Southampton in England; (nay, even on the so much reviled groom* of the bedchamber,) daily risking that forfeiture, which Montrose in Scotland so gallantly incurred, and so gloriously paid. Then let him view the

* "He did send over to the king, and had leave to stay "there; and sometimes supplied the king with considerable "sums of money. Cromwell did hate him; and desired to have "taken his life." Clarendon's Hist. pages 494 and 501, vol. v.

chancellor himself at the Spanish court; freely indulging his equally strong propensities to literary pursuits, and sportive recreations; his person in safety, and his mind at ease; unless when the occasionally intruding recollection of a royal "master's miserable condition" threw a transient gloom over the spirits of his adventurous servant, and self-devoting minister of state: or when the patriot's bosom heaved a sigh at the thought of "*his own particular concernments in his own country.*" Among these it is consoling to reflect, that his wife and children were not included. Sir Edward, before he set out on his extraordinary embassy, "on which two full years were spent," having had the satisfaction of knowing, that lady Hyde and family were safely arrived, and comfortably settled, at Antwerp.

Surely when the life of lord Herbert of Cherbury was pronounced by its very ingenious editor to be "the most extraordinary account, that was ever "given by a *wise* man of himself," he must either never have read, or else he must have forgotten, the auto-biography of the "*wisest*," as well as "best, of English statesmen."

VI.

"It was discernible enough, that Mr. Ashburn-"ham, who usually looked very far before him, "had not so much intended to disoblige the chan-"cellor, as, by introducing himself this way into "the customs, to continue one of the farmers of "the customs, when the war should be at an end; "of which he got a promise from the king at the "same time."

"It was discernible enough that Mr. Ashburn-
"ham, who usually looked very far before him."

Was it also discernible enough, on what object this eagle-eyed speculator was intent on the 28th of August, 1667? Clarendon house, then better known as Dunkirk house, was yet standing—

"At non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
Mane salutantûm totis vomit ædibus undam."

Evelyn, Legge, and Ashburnham were on that day the only guests seated at the sometime chancellor's so lately crowded board. The first of these in his Diary, speaking of his noble host, says that he found "his lordship pretty well in health; "though now many of his friends and sycophants "abandoned him." But lord Clarendon himself tells us further; that, though the king denied, that he had forbidden any of his servants to visit him, "yet it appeared more every day, that "they were best looked on, who forbore going "to him, and the other found themselves upon "much disadvantage."* And in a letter dated

Life, vol. iii. p. 297.

* According to Echard, the king reprimanded sir Stephen Fox, who was of his household, and member of the house of commons, for having voted in favour of the earl of Clarendon. To which sir Stephen replied, that "he knew the earl to be an "honest man: and was sure, he could never be guilty of the "crimes laid to his charge."

Pepys has noted in his Diary, that sir Geo. Carteret told him, that "the king do all he can in the world to overthrow my "lord chancellor; and that notice is taken of every man about "the king, that is not seen to promote the ruin of the chan-"cellor."

N. B. Ashburnham was at this time, as well as Legge, still a groom of the bedchamber.

the 24th of September, 1667, addressed to his illustrious friend the duke of Ormond, he writes—"The duke of York hath been, and is, as gracious "to me, and as much concerned for me, as pos-"sible. I have not many other friends to brag "of. I confess I have so much mortification upon "the observation of the humours of men, that the "very ridiculousness thereof is some allay to the "melancholic."

To follow the fortunes of a fallen minister, or to keep up a connection with him, may sometimes have been the result of sordid calculation, or of ambitious policy. But here lord Clarendon's age,* his bodily infirmities, and domestic afflictions; the recent death of the earl of Southampton, the protracted absence of the duke of Ormond, and the confirmed victory of their opponents;—every consideration forbade the hope of his regaining his lost ascendancy. If ever therefore an unequivocal proof was given of genuine respect, of disinterested attachment, and of unfeigned preference of "the house of mourning to the house "of feasting;" it was on this occasion manifest in the conduct of that man, whom lord Clarendon (as will be hereafter shewn) has deliberately and studiously consigned to the odium, scorn, and ridicule of succeeding ages, as a time-serving, self-seeking, scheming sycophant.

It must however be admitted, that no man was ever more entitled, or better warranted, to pass

* Ashburnham was himself five years older, having been born in 1603.

on another the censure and reproach conveyed in this sarcastic parenthesis* than lord Clarendon.

That his paternal estate was not large may be inferred from the judged expediency of his adding to it by the practice of that learned profession, which he began to study, as many a young templar has since done, in the society of wits, poets and bon-vivants.

After his emancipation from these fascinating witcheries, both sensual† and intellectual, no long time intervened, ere from having been returned to the parliaments of 1640 and 1641, the lawyer migrated first into the politician, and next into the minister of state; at a time, when the latter's was least a thriving trade. And surely if any one had asked, whether from the time, when the royal standard had been raised, to that when the monarchy was restored, sir Edward Hyde's property had escaped those sequestrations and confiscations, by which the estates of other loyalists had been impaired and dilapidated, the indignant answer would probably have been returned in some such words as these, which Addison has put into the mouth of the Roman patriot;

* "That Ashburnham usually looked very far before him."

† "He indulged his palate very much, and took even some delight in eating and drinking well, but without any approach to luxury; and, in truth, rather discoursed like an epicure, than was one; having spent much time in the eating hours with the earl of Dorset, &c. men who excelled in gratifying their appetites."

Life, vol. i. p. 77.

What therefore is said of there having been "no approach to luxury" must be with reference only to the Attic Triclinium at the mermaid in Friday-street; with old Ben in the chair.

" I should have blush'd, if Cato's house had stood
" Secure, and flourish'd in a civil war."

From out of what funds then was that gorgeous palace raised, which with its stately gardens soon covered the present site of Dover Street, Albemarle Street, and Bond Street; or out of which their wages were paid to the keepers of Wychwood Forest, of the Manor of Cornbury, or of Hyde Park. It is little probable, that expences like these should have been defrayed from the accumulated savings of the Wiltshire rents, or from the frugal hoardings of many a well-earned professional fee. If then the above-mentioned grants of crown lands were rendered available to their purpose by less notorious gratuities* of royal

* Of these, the following have transpired:

1st. At page 385 of the continuation of his life, lord Clarendon has related that—" the king had often offered the chancel-
" lor to make him a baron, ... but he had still refused it, and
" besought his majesty not to think of it; that it would increase
" the envy against him if he should confer that honour upon
" him so soon; but that hereafter, when his majesty's affairs
" should be settled, and he, *out of the extraordinary perquisites*
" *of his office, should be able to make some addition to his small*
" *fortune,* he would, with that humility that became him, re-
" ceive that honour from him."

" The king, in a few days after, coming to him, and being
" alone with him in his cabinet, at going away gave him a little
" billet into his hand, that contained a warrant of his own hand-
" writing to sir Stephen Fox to pay to the chancellor the sum,
" of 20,000*l.* . . . . . This bounty flowing immediately from
" the king, ... and *of which nobody could have notice,* could
" not but much raise the spirits of the chancellor at such a
" melancholic conjuncture."

It seems that of these flowings or over-flowings of the king's bounty, those which made the least noise, were always the more

munificence, lavish'd at a time, when penury and policy,—

" Res dura, ac regni novitas,"

were speciously pleaded in excuse of apathy and ingratitude—an impartial judge will pause, before he receives the verdict, by which lord Clarendon is so emphatically pronounced, " the most virtuous " of statesmen."

Still however with no other plea than that of guilty can be met the charge, brought against Ashburnham of having " usually looked very far

readily absorbed by the chancellor's gratitude. For we read (at page 406) that he purposed to raise his fortune *only* " by the " perquisites of his office, which were considerable at the first, " and by such bounty of the king as might hereafter, *without* " *noise or scandal, be conferred on him in proper seasons and* " *occurrences.*"

2ndly. We read in Pepys's Diary, Feb. 22, 1664. " The king " has this day sent his order to the privy seal for the payment " of this 20,000*l.* to the chancellor to clear *the* mortgage." N. B. On Clarendon Park; subject to which it had been granted to the duke of Albemarle, and by him sold to the noble earl " whose title of earldome is fetched from thence."

It may be—it has been—asked,—are detractions from so illustrious a character as lord Clarendon's to be credited on the obscure authority of Pepys? Certainly not;—whenever it be, so much as possible, in reason to discredit them. But this can hardly be the case in instances, where, in addition to the many strong internal evidences of a general truth, and correctness of statement, particular facts are in strictest analogy with others, authenticated by the noble auto-biographer himself.

3rdly. The grant of 25,000*l.* out of money voted to the king by the parliament of Ireland, of which lord Clarendon has given more than one account,—too much at length to be here inserted; but which, as too curious to be omitted, will be given at the end of this disquisition at page 75.

" before him." The proofs are too visible to be concealed, and too substantial to be removed. No sooner had the king's restoration liberated him from an imprisonment of eight years, in which he had been kept by Cromwell—" who (as our noble historian asserts) " did hate him, and de- " sired to have taken his life, and would have " been glad to have blasted his reputation,"—than we find, that he instantly relapsed into his former inveterate habit. That within five years he had completed, at his own expence, the rebuilding of the church at Ashburnham, is attested by the initials of his name, and the date of 1665 simply carved on the unornamented coping of the chancel door.

His usual failing is further certified by the signatures of the minister and churchwardens to their registered acknowledgement of having received from him, on behalf of the parish, " all appliances " and means to boot" for the due performance of every service, and the solemnization of every rite, prescribed by primitive, rather than reformed, christian worship.

This was, it must be granted, " to look far—" very far!—" before him," since it could not have been done with a view to find favour for himself, or others, in the sight of any earthly king; least of all to propitiate the one, then seated on the throne of England: who lived the life of an atheist, and died the death of a papist.

" Had not so much intended to disoblige the " chancellor."

Had he in the least,—had he at all,—intended to disoblige the chancellor? If he had, his character cannot have been such, as a contemporary, to whom he was so well known, as the earl of Clarendon, has deigned to describe it. It is little probable, if possible, that an insinuating, subtle, and assiduous observer, and promoter of his own interests, should have been regardless of the advantages to be derived from making to himself a friend of that minister, whom, above all, it was then the king's delight to honour; and more especially of the one "to whose office entirely belonged "the direction of the customs;" at the time too when "to introduce himself as a farmer" of the same was the grand object of his ambition.

In the Works of the noble Historian abundant proof may be found, that the chancellor of the exchequer was incapable of lending himself to such base practices as those, which the lord high chancellor was afterwards charged withal: as "the prevailing to have the customs farmed at a "lower rate, than others offered," to benefit himself or to favour a protégé. But we are no where warranted *on the same authority*, to ascribe to Ashburnham the same conscientious scrupulosity.

"Of which he got a promise from the king at "the same time."

Hist. vol. iii p. 247. Hist. vol. v. p. 382. Hist. vol. v. p. 493.

Ashburnham, according to lord Clarendon, "was "of entire confidence with his master"—"he was "as entirely trusted by the king as any man in "England"—"was known to have so great an

"interest in the affections of his majesty, and so "great an influence on his counsels and resolu- "tions"—"was one whom the king loved and "trusted very much"—"for whom the king had "a great affection and an extraordinary opinion" —"who had power and credit with the king:"— so that (as it will presently be shewn) he was at this time making peers as fast as a turner can people a toy-shop with fac-similes. When therefore presuming on all this confidence, trust, interest, influence, power, credit, love, affection and opinion, he had contrived so far to— Life, vol. i. p. 108. Life, vol. i. p. 200. Life, vol. i. p. 225.

"Screw his courage to the sticking place,"

as to venture to apply for ("prodigious bold re- "quest") the situation of a farmer of the customs, it is passing strange, that as "the port of Bristol "was *now* within the king's quarters," he should have preferred a contingent, remote, reversionary grant, to the immediate appointment. But then we are told, that he "usually looked very far be- "fore him." And perhaps it may be with the mind's eye, as it is with the grosser organ of material vision; which as it becomes long-sighted, loses its power to discern nearer objects without artificial aid.

VII.

"If there remained after this any jealousy, or "coolness between the chancellor of the exchequer "and the other two,"——

If there remained not any jealousy, it is here "discernible enough" after the slow protracted

course of twenty-five eventful years, that there remained some yet baser passion in the breast of lord Clarendon, unsubdued, and unmitigated. While it is equally manifest, that the brief period of scarcely twenty-seven months had sufficed to obliterate from that tablet, on which deeper, and more durable impression might well have been made, all reminiscence, how,—at the time, when, by his ungrateful sovereign, sacrificed to the malignity of a ruthless faction;—abandoned to the fury of a deluded populace;—

" Interque mœrentes amicos
" Egregius properaret exul;"

Ashburnham had been among those few, who dared to evince their friendship, and testify their sorrow.

So much for that mortification, which the chancellor " took" as we are told (and as he has here given it) " very heavily;" which he has stated very uncandidly; treated very contumeliously; and entitled very pompously—" the chancellor of the " exchequer's office invaded by a groom of the " bedchamber!" Was ever mole-hill magnified into such a mountain? Was ever mountain delivered of so " ridiculous" a mouse?

THE next attack on this unfortunate groom of the bedchamber, now to be introduced under another title, soon occurs in the auto-biographical pages of our illustrious annalist. If it were not difficult to convey a sufficient knowledge of the whole transaction, so circumstantially detailed, by transcribing only such as may appear the more material parts, the attempt would be injudicious; since however unintentionally the selections, or rejections, might be unfairly made; and hence induce suspicions of a design to garble the relation, which it is professed to abridge. But surely for extracting largely from so admired a writer, especially where he is narrating events, of which he himself was an eye-witness, and still more—

" quorum pars magna fuit,"

there can be little expediency to apologize. If there be, the best compensation, which can be made, is that, as compared with the antecedent article, there will be more of text; so, that in like proportion, there shall here be less of comment. The reader will thus be doubly a gainer, both positively and negatively, by the change.

The king said, " he hoped that he (chancellor " of the exchequer) would give him (duke of Rich- " mond) good counsel; for he had not of late " lived towards him in the manner he was used to " do; that he knew well the duke was a very

Life, vol. i. p. 222, &c.

" honest and worthy man, and had all the kind-
" ness, as well as duty for his majesty; but that
" he was grown sullen, or discontented, and had
" not the same countenance as he used to have;
" for which he could imagine no other reason,
" but that his man Webb gave him ill-counsel:
" he said, he was well contented that he (the duke)
" should take notice, that his majesty was not well
" satisfied.

The chancellor of the exchequer accordingly waited the same day on the duke. And after he had spent a short time with him, he said, " he
" thought it was time to go to Oriel college, (where
" the committee for secret affairs used to meet)
" and asked his grace, whether he would please
" to go thither. For which he making some ex-
" cuse, the other pressed him with some earnest-
" ness, and said, it was observed that he had a
" good time declined that meeting, and if he
" should not now go thither, he should be doubt-
" ful there was some reason for it.

" The duke replied, that he had indeed been
" absent from thence for some time, and that he
" would deal clearly with him as his friend, but
" desired it should not be known; that he was re-
" solved to be there no more. Then complained,
" that the king was not kind to him; at least, had
" not that confidence in him which he had used
" to have: and then spake of many particulars
" loosely; and especially, that before the treaty,
" he had advised the king to use all the means
" he could to draw them to a treaty, for many
" advantages which were like to be gotten by

" it; and to that purpose produced a letter that " he had newly received from the countess of Car- " lisle, and read it to his majesty, who then seemed " not to be moved with the contents; but after- " wards, in several discourses, reflected upon it in " such a manner, as if he were jealous that the " duke held too much correspondence with that " people: which he looked upon as such a point " of diffidence, that it was no longer fit for him to " be present when the secret part of his affairs " was transacted; and so he had and would for- " bear to meet in that place, till his majesty should " entertain a better opinion of him: yet he con- " cealed the trouble of mind which he sustained; " and wished that no notice might be taken of it.

" The chancellor told him, it was too late for " that caution; that the lords themselves could " not but observe his long absence, who before " used to be the most punctual; and confessed to " him, that the king himself had spoken to him of " it with a sense of wonder and dislike.....

" In sum, it was easy to discern, that the thing " that troubled him was the power and credit " that John Ashburnham had with the king; " which his vanity made him own to that de- " gree, that he was not content to enjoy the " benefit of it, except he made it public, and to " be taken notice of by all men; which could not " but reflect upon his honour: and when the chan- " cellor seemed to think it impossible, that himself " could believe that the king could prefer a man " of Mr. Ashburnham's talent before his grace,

" he proceeded with many instances, and insisted " with most indignation upon one.

" That about a year before, sir John Lucas, who " was well known to his grace, having met him " abroad in his travels, and ever after paid a par- " ticular respect to him, had applied himself to " him, and desired his favour; that when there " should be any opportunity offered, he would re- " commend him to the king, to whom he was not " unknown: that his affection to his majesty's " service was notorious enough, and that his suf- " ferings* were so likewise, his house being the " first that was plundered in the beginning of the " war; by which, the loss he sustained in furni- " ture, plate, money, and stock, was very con- " siderable; so that he might modestly hope, that " when his majesty scattered his favours upon " others of his own rank, his poor service might " likewise be remembered: but he had seen men " raised to dignities, who he was sure had not " the advantage over him in their sufferings, what- " ever they might have in their actings; and he " desired no more, but (since it was too evident " that his majesty's wants were great, and that " money would do him some service) that he might " receive that degree of honour, which others had,

* This is noticed in the History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 229, wherein it appears further that sir John Lucas's life was saved by the interference of the mayor of Colchester. Who was however compelled to send him to the common gaol, " where " he remained, glad of that security, till the house of commons " removed him to another prison, without ever charging him " with any crime."

" and he would make such a present to him as " should manifest his gratitude; and he desired " to owe the obligation to his grace, and to re- " ceive it only by his mediation.

" He said, he had moved this matter, with the " relation of all the circumstances, to his majesty, " who spake very graciously of the gentleman, as " a person of merit, but said, he was resolved to " make no more lords; which he received as a " very good answer, and looked upon as a good " resolution, and commended it; desiring only, " that if at any time his majesty found it neces- " sary to vary from that resolution, he would re- " member his proposition, and gratify that gentle- " man; which he promised to do; and with all " which he acquainted the person concerned; " thinking, it could not but well satisfy him. But " he told him, that he was sorry that he could not " receive the honour by his grace's recommen- " dation; but for the thing itself, he could have " it when he would; and shortly after it was des- " patched by Mr. Ashburnham: he asked whether " this was not preferring Mr. Ashburnham very " much before him. The chancellor told him, he " was preferred as the better market-man, and " that he ought not to believe that the king's " affection swayed him to that preference, but an " opinion that the other would make the better " bargain. He replied, that his majesty was de- " ceived in that, for he had told him what the " other meant to give, without the least thought " of reserving any thing for himself; whereas his " majesty had now received five hundred pounds

" less, and his market-man had gotten so much " for his pains.

" In conclusion, he prevailed so far with him, " that they went that afternoon together to the " Committee to Oriel college; and the next day the " chancellor spake with the king again, and told " him, that the duke had been in the afternoon " with the committee, where many things had been " consulted; and that he found all his trouble pro- " ceeded from an apprehension, that his majesty " had withdrawn his affection from him; at least, " that he, the duke, had not the same credit with " his majesty which he had formerly had; and that " the sense and fear of that, could not but make " an impression upon a good servant, who loved " his master as well as he did. His majesty said, " they two should not live as well together as " they had done, as long as the duke kept his " man Webb; who made him believe that the " king was wholly governed by Ashburnham, and " cared not for any body else. He said, nobody " who knew him could believe he could be go- " verned by Ashburnham; who, though an honest " man, and one that he believed loved him well, " no man thought was of an understanding su- " perior to his majesty; and enlarged himself " upon this argument so much, that he seemed as " it were glad of the opportunity to clear himself " from that aspersion or imputation."

The maxim " ut nequid falsi dicere audeat, ne- " quid veri non audeat," however as a motto it may grace the title-page of the History of the Re-

bellion, has in the work itself been as little observed by its so superstitiously accredited author, as by any other of least vaunted authenticity. With respect to Ashburnham it shall be undeniably attested, even by himself, that he has not feared to say that, which is false:—in point of fact absolutely false:—nay more, that, of which however possibly not aware at the moment of writing it, he must in some instances antecedently, and in others subsequently, have known to be so. And surely if not the internal conciousness of an uncontroulable antipathy, the too manifest betrayal of a predominant enmity might have warned him, for his own sake, to verify and ascertain those facts, by the misrepresentation of which he has so basely and foully calumniated a man, as innocent, and as honourable, as himself: one, whose disinterested attachment, and zealous devotion to their royal master, will bear at least as strict a scrutiny as his own.

Most assuredly the duke of Richmond was, as the king is here said to have pronounced him to be, "a very honest and worthy man." But many a very honest and worthy man has thought, and spoken, and acted, very unlike himself, when in a very ill-humour. Such was the unusual temper of his grace's mind at the moment, when he is represented to have accused Ashburnham of a disgraceful and abominable abuse of the royal favour. But let it be remembered, that however correct in point of fact the statement may be, the language, in which it has been given is that of one, who was equally an avowed friend to the former, and an

undisguised enemy to the latter. A further preliminary remark, which is here submitted, as no frivolous objection to the unreserved admission of all this full and minute detail, (and the same will be, as it has been, of frequent application,) that the third part of Clarendon's Life, from which this extract is taken, bears the date of November 5th, 1669, being twenty-six years after the occurrence of the event there recorded. We are no where told that the noble writer was in the habit of noting down at the moment these "Memorabilia," so very worthy of transmission to all succeeding ages. Indeed the preface to the first edition of his life seems to discountenance the notion; as does the internal evidence of almost every relation in the work itself. Surely then where the precise words are purported to be given, after such a lapse of time, some more satisfactory vouchers than unaided and unrefreshed reminiscences are necessary to merit unqualified acceptation.* When the illustrious biographer, relating the gracious expressions in which the king announced the resolution to appoint Ned Hyde his secretary of

* "Faciunt aliena pericula cautum." There are few who have less profited from the experience of others than the author of this Vindication. Yet here for once it has not been thrown away upon him. Having, before he began to write these comments, exceeded the age, at which lord Clarendon had finished his great Historical Work, he has taken care to enable himself in all matters, whether of fact or of opinion, not only to name his authorities, but to submit to his reader's better judgment the several passages, faithfully transcribed; precluding thereby the possibility of even unintentionally misleading others by his own involuntary misapprehensions.

state, adds in parenthesis—(" these were his ma-
" jesty's own words:") is it not naturally to be inferred, that all the others are lord Clarendon's own words?

Little could the duke of Richmond have expected, or earnestly would he have deprecated, that of his whole life (with the honourable tenour of which it is so much at variance and in contrast) this passage should be the one most circumstantially and indelibly perpetuated in a record,

——— " ære perennius."

Among some portraits of John Ashburnham's most distinguished contemporaries, which have continued till now as heir-looms in his family, is one of the duke of Richmond. For its merit and value, as a work of art, the present possessor of it is far less earnest to contend, than for the reasonableness of the gratifying hope, which he indulges, that it may have been originally placed there a token of friendship, or a pledge of reconciliation, between two men, who in their respective stations were well entitled to each other's esteem and reciprocal consideration.

" Credo equidem:—nec vana fides."

Their zeal and fidelity, their exertions and sufferings, in a common cause; their necessarily consequent intercourse throughout the calamitously eventful period from the close of 1643 to that of 1648; the affectionate confidence, with which both were honoured by their royal master; and

his well known benign solicitude,* that those, whom he loved, and by whom he thought himself beloved, should also love one another: and ("though last not least") the absence abroad of the chancellor of the exchequer; who after the 4th of March, 1644, never saw the king, or the duke; all unite to render the gratifying supposition not improbable.

But the hope rests not in plausible conjectures alone. These are powerfully corroborated by a fact, which, as being verified in the parliamentary journals (Dec. 8th, 1645), shall here be given in lord Clarendon's own words.

Hist. vol. v. p. 339. "He (the king,) sent again to the parliament, "that they would send a safe conduct for the "duke of Richmond, and the earl of Southampton, "Mr. John Ashburnham and Mr. Geoffrey Pal-"mer;† by whom he would make such particular "propositions to them as he hoped would pro-"duce a peace."

Surely it would little accord with the character given by the noble historian of the king, and of the duke, to suppose, that the former would propose, or the latter accept Ashburnham for a colleague in a commission consisting of four persons only; if his grace had still continued to entertain the same opinion of the market-man, as he is here

* Exemplified in his earnest endeavour to effect a reconciliation between sir John Colepepper and sir Edward Hyde; and again to obtain the chancellor's forgiveness for Ashburnham, the invader of his office.

† Afterwards attorney general.

said to have declared to the chancellor of the exchequer.

I.

" He (sir John Lucas) desired to *owe the obli-*
" *gation* to his *grace*, and to receive it *only* by *his*
" mediation."

How is this declaration reconcilable with sir John Lucas's subsequent reply, when on the duke's informing him of the failure of his application to the king; namely that " he was sorry, that he " could not receive the honour by his grace's re " commendation, but for the thing itself he could " have it when he would?" Because from this it would appear that sir John Lucas had first secured to himself the promise of a peerage, and then asked the duke to obtain it for him.

II.

" And *shortly after* it was despatched by Mr. " Ashburnham."

The natural inference therefore seems to be that this business had been already despatched at the time, of which lord Clarendon is here speaking: that is to say towards the close of the year 1643; or very early in 1644. Because this transaction is related in part iii. of lord Clarendon's Life; in the concluding paragraph of which it is stated, that lord Clarendon left Oxford on the 4th of March, 1644. " And this was the last time, the " chancellor ever saw that gracious and excellent " king."

But it appears, that the creation of the barony of Lucas of Shenfield was in 1645, (on the authority of Bank's Extinct Baronage, and Beatson's Political Index.)*

In the 15th of Charles II., Mary, the only daughter and heiress of lord Lucas, was created baroness Lucas of Crudwell, with remainder to her heirs, male or female, by her husband, Antony earl of Kent. By the marriage of John Ashburnham's great grandson with Jemima, second daughter† of Henry duke of Kent, his descendants in the fourth generation, are within the limitation of the patent. Here again we see the "great appearance of truth," with which Ashburnham is said to have "usually looked very far "before him."

III.

"The chancellor told him, he (Ashburnham) "was preferred as the better market-man."

It is presumed that a market-man is one employed by the owner of a commodity, who wishes to sell it for the best price, that can be obtained for it. Now it is here stated, that the king "was "resolved to make no more lords," that is, to sell no more peerages. How came he then among his retainers to have a market-man? That his ma-

* According to Dugdale, sir John Lucas was made baron Lucas by letters patent, dated 3rd of January, 20th year of Charles I. Whose accession to the throne was on the 27th March, 1625.

† The countess de Grey, as descended from the eldest daughter of Henry duke of Kent, is now baroness Lucas of Crudwell.

jesty was at all times very averse from dealing in this sort of merchandise, may be further seen at page 257, vol. iii. of the History of the Rebellion. "There was a gentleman of a very good extrac- "tion, and of the best estate of any gentleman of "that country, who lived within four or five miles "of Shrewsbury, and was looked upon as a very "prudent man, and had a very powerful influence "upon that people, and was of undoubted affec- "tions and loyalty to the king, and to the govern- "ment both in church and state: his eldest son "was a young gentleman of great expectation, "and of excellent parts, a member of the house "of commons, who had behaved himself there "very well. This gentleman intimated to a *friend* "of his, 'that if his father might be made a baron, "'he did believe he might be prevailed with to "'present his majesty with a good sum of money.' "It was proposed to the king, who had no mind "to embrace the proposition, his majesty taking "occasion *often to speak against 'making merchan-* "'*dize of honour*; how much the crown suffered "'at present by the licence of that kind, which had "'been used during the favour of the duke of Buck- "'ingham; and that *he had not taken a firmer re-* "'*solution against many things, than against this* "'*particular expedient for raising money.*" How- "ever after he returned from Chester and found "by the increase of his levies, and the good dispo- "sition all things were in, that he might in a short "time be able to march, and in so good a con- "dition, that he should rather seek the rebels, than "decline meeting with them, if the indispensable

" want of money did not make his motion im-
" possible; the merit and ability of the person,
" and the fair expectation from his posterity, he
" having two sons both very hopeful, prevailed
" with his majesty to resume the same overture;
" and in a few days it was perfected, and the gen-
" tleman was made a baron, who presented the
" sum of six thousand pounds to his majesty."

It is observable that none of the parties in this transaction are named. With respect to one of them, the friend of this young gentleman, by whom it was proposed to the king, some curiosity is naturally excited. We know, that a friend on such occasions, a proposer of such overtures, and manager of such bargains, is denominated " a market-man;" such at least is the title bestowed on Ashburnham. But he could hardly have been the market-man on this occasion. For the noble historian is not much in the habit of eulogizing those between whom and Ashburnham a friendship subsisted. On the contrary an appeal may be confidently made to all, who have been attentive readers of the History of the Rebellion, and Clarendon's Life, whether their illustrious author has not often alluded to himself in terms at least as circuitous, enigmatical, and mysterious.

IV.

" He, (the duke of Richmond) replied his ma-
" jesty was deceived in that, for he had told him,
" what the other meant to give, without the least
" thought of reserving any thing for himself;

" whereas his majesty had now received five hun-
" dred pounds less, and his market-man had gotten
" so much for his pains."

After that the duke had told the king what sir John Lucas meant to give, without the least thought of reserving any thing for himself, could his majesty have received five hundred pounds *less*, and his market-man gotten so much for his pains, without the bribe, fraud, or embezzlement being instantly detected? If indeed instead of the king's having received five hundred pounds *less*, it were stated, that sir John Lucas had paid five hundred pounds more than the price, which the duke had told the king that he meant to give; then indeed there might have been a presumption, that " the " market-man had gotten so much for his pains." Since from the king's not getting less than he had been taught to expect, the peculation might not have been discovered. But this has not been stated. And in what has been stated, it is submitted, that there is not a fair pretext for charging Ashburnham with rapacity, venality, and a disgraceful abuse of unmerited favour.

And then what a solution would this be of sir John Lucas's very flattering preference of the duke's recommendation to that of Ashburnham! The former to be had gratis; the latter by the payment of five hundred pounds! Truly if this were really so, it would appear, that, as for any acquired skill in well-imagined, well-timed, and well-turned compliments, sir John Lucas must have returned from " his travels abroad," like sir Wilful Witwoud,—" as much improved, as a " Dutch skipper from a whale-fishery."

What then but an inveterate antipathy, and interminable hate, could have betrayed lord Clarendon into thus circumstantially relating a transaction, wherein appear so little to advantage, three persons, whom he "so entirely loved," as the duke of Richmond, the king, and himself?

"Tantum odiis iræque dabat."

The duke guided by his man Webb; the king governed by his market-man. His grace, instead of remonstrating respectfully, yet firmly, on this real or imaginary slight; in a tone equally befitting a dignified consciousness of his own worth, and a due sense of the justice and affection of an "approved good master," absents himself from the council board, and the presence chamber; leaving king, ministers, and courtiers to form their several conjectures and surmises on the mysterious cause of a sullen moodiness, evident to all. While his majesty yields to the mercenary importunities of a rapacious favourite that honour denied to the well-attested services and sufferings of a meritorious, faithful, and devoted loyalist. Lastly, the chancellor of the exchequer himself (in the former, as well as the present extract), is seen so hostilely propense, so injuriously prejudiced, so malevolently unjust, as to warrant the advocate of John Ashburnham to say, on the behalf and in the name of his much calumniated Client,—

"I do believe,
"Induc'd by potent circumstances, that
"You are mine enemy; and make my challenge,—
"You shall not be my judge."

In what manner the chancellor of the exchequer's friendship with the duke of Richmond was contracted, or rather solemnized, is a matter of too much importance for the illustrious auto-biographer to have passed over unnoticed; and of too much curiosity for his obscure commentator to leave unnoted.

"The chancellor, with the king's approbation, "forms a friendship with the duke of Richmond." Life, vol. i. p. 222.

"When his majesty arose from council, the "duke of Richmond whispered somewhat pri- "vately to him, upon which the king went into "his bedchamber; and the duke called the chan- "cellor, and told him, the king would speak with "him, and *so took him by the hand, and led him* "*into the bedchamber;* the privilege and dignity "of which room was then so punctually preserved, "that the king very rarely called any privy-coun- "sellor to confer with them there, who was not "of the bedchamber: which maintained a just "reverence to the place, and an esteem of those, "who were admitted to attend there." (Query: grooms included?)

"As soon as he came into the room, before he "said any thing to the king, who was there alone, "the duke spake to the chancellor, and told him, "that he had been brought up from his childhood "by the crown, and had always paid it the obe- "dience of a child; that as he had taken a wife "with the approbation and advice of the crown, "so he had never made a friendship, which he took "to be a kind of marriage, without the king's

" privity and particular approbation; that he had " long had a kindness for him, but had taken " time to know him well, which he thought he " now did; and therefore had asked his majesty's " consent, that he might make a friendship with " him: and then said to the king, 'Sir, have I " 'not your approbation to this conjunction?' To " which his majesty said, 'Yes, my lord, I am very " 'glad of it; and I will pass my word to you for " 'the chancellor, that you will not repent it;' " with many gracious expressions to them both: " *and so the duke led him out of the room again,* " saying, '*now, Mr. Chancellor, it is in your power* " '*to deceive me.*'"

Having been thus admitted, as it were, to witness so grave and pompous a mummery, so burlesque and ludicrous a solemnity; one is tempted to exclaim like father Foigard, at the mutual self-pronounced divorce between Mr. and Mrs. Sullen—" Upon my shoul, a very pretty shere-" mony."

So far as the preliminary substitution of a *special license* for the publication of banns, this " kind of " marriage" seems to have been very much the same as any other. The greatest difference is perceptible at the conclusion; when the duke having again handed out of the closet his better half, said—" Now, Mr. Chancellor, it is in your " power to deceive me." In the more ordinary " conjunctions," cela va sans dire: making no part of the ritual, it is neither said, nor sung.

The matter not being irrelevant it might be deemed uncandid here to suppress a circumstance

little creditable to the " managery" of the king's " market-man;" and to his majesty's extraordinary opinion of it: and the more remarkable, as it concerned his own interests; to which, we are assured, that he was principally, if not exclusively, atten-tive.

Lord Clarendon's account of this business occurs at page 170, vol. i. of his life, and is, as follows:—

On the death of sir Charles Cæsar, the master of the rolls, " sir John Colepepper, who had long " had a promise from the king of that place, when " it should become void, now pressed the per- " formance of it: which was violently opposed " by many, partly out of ill will to him, (for he " had not the faculty of getting himself much " loved,) and as much out of good husbandry, " and to supply the king's necessities with a good " sum of money, which *Dr. Duck* was ready to " lay down for the office. And the king was so " far wrought upon, that he paid down three " thousand pounds in part of what he was to give; " but his majesty caused the money to be repaid, " and resolved to make good his promise to sir " John Colepepper, who would by no means re- " lease him."

It has been said of some men, that their geese are swans. Surely lord Clarendon is here passing off this duck for a very great goose: when he represents him to have paid down such a sum, in part only of the exorbitant price to be given, for the mastership of the rolls: at a time when his honour, without a court for his suitors, or suitors

for his court, could not so much as have said, like M. Bartolin in "l'Avocat Patelin."

"Je veux au moins avoir un avocat à mon audience."

That the presbyterian ornithologists considered him to be of the "genus anser," is evident from their having been in the habit of plucking him alive most unmercifully. For instance,

Commons Journals, November 12, 1642.

"Resolved:

"That Dr. Duck shall forthwith be sent "for, as a delinquent: and that the captains that "lie near Chiswick, be required to search his house "at Chiswick, for arms, horse, money and plate, "and to seize them for the commonwealth. And "*if* they can light upon him to send him up "likewise."

This surely was treating a learned civilian very cavalierly; or, more correctly speaking, very round-headedly. Since it betrayed more eagerness to secure his plate, than his company. Whether the captains happened to light on the doctor, we are not told. Nor, as being so very much a secondary consideration, is the omission to be wondered at, or regretted. But Whitelocke in his Memorials informs us, that—

Jan. 19th 1646.

"The House ordered 300*l.* to be paid to Mrs. "Settle, a widow, out of Dr. Duck's Estate."

It is probable that Dr. Duck had already entered into the holy and happy state of matrimony. Else

he had reason to think himself very well off, that they did not *settle* him, as well as part of his estate, on this widow-gentlewoman,* whose name invites a similar observation to the one, which Falstaff could not refrain from making on that of Justice Silence.—"It well befits, that he should be "of the peace."

Now in John Ashburnham's "True and perfect "Account," &c. to which reference has already been given, it will be seen, that the largest sum acknowledged to have been received from any individual, is that of "3,800*l.* from Dr. Duck," which according to lord Clarendon was only 3000*l.* If therefore these two statements had been reversed: if the former had named the smaller, and the latter the larger sum, the document must have been suppressed altogether; or at least the particular entry omitted. Because it would then to a certainty have been said (and of course, "with "great appearance of truth,") that the market-man had only carried to account the 3000*l.*, having put the 800*l.* into his own pocket. As it is, we have only a proof, on what an inadequate foundation the king's "extraordinary opinion of his mana-"gery" had been raised.

(See note, p. 50.)

In lord Clarendon's vindication of himself against the impeachment of the commons, there is given of this grant an account almost as extraordinary

* Ralpho insists that Hudibras has the absolute right to dispose of Crowdero in any way he may please.

as that of his own embassy extraordinary, and of the extraordinary ambassador himself.

It appears that immediately after the Restoration the parliament of Ireland imposed "a cer-
Life, vol. ii. p. 92. "tain sum of money upon some specified lands in "several provinces, which was to be paid to his "majesty within a limited time, and to be disposed "of by his majesty to such persons who had served "him faithfully, and suffered in so doing."

"He (the lord chancellor) often protested that "he never saw the act of parliament, and was "most confident that he never heard of it at the "time, when it passed,"—and in order to place beyond the reach of scepticism so strange an assertion he adds:—"he being often absent from "the council, by reason of the gout, or other acci-"dents." As if acts of parliament are no where heard of but at the council board!

Moreover if ever the parliament of Ireland passed an act, which could not fail to attract universal attention, and excite general interest throughout England, it was this; which encouraged the expectation of a welcome afflux at a period when there was no palling glut, no surfeiting repletion of superabundant species; and no lack of famished supplicants, or voracious claimants. It is notorious that "soon after the king's happy return," the lord chancellor was not so much his prime, as his sole, minister. That he was such virtually, though not nominally, he himself repeatedly admits, or affirms.* Was he not, then, most specially

* The chancellor was generally thought to have most credit with his master, and most power in the councils; because *the*

bound to advise in the distribution of the money placed at the king's discretion, for this specific purpose? Yet "he never heard of the act, till "two years after it had been passed!"

How then can the lord chancellor's protestation be credible, or intelligible, but as a quibbling, jesuitical equivocation? He might safely *protest* that he had *never seen the act itself:* and yet, of necessity, be well apprized of the nature and purport of every clause. His never having "*heard "of it at the time, when it passed,*" is no presumptive proof, that he did not hear of it immediately after.

That he must of necessity so have heard of it cannot admit of doubt. By Poyning's act* (in the reign of Henry VII.) the lord lieutenant was bound to transmit to the English privy council the head of every bill to be proposed in the Irish parliament. Now at this time (soon after the Restoration) the privy council was sir Edward Hyde. He was then in possession of that, to which Bottom the weaver, had in vain aspired,—a monopoly of the whole dramatis personæ.

king referred all matters of what kind soever to him. Continuation of Life, vol. i. p. 363. Burnet says, "He (the king) did then "so entirely trust the earl of Clarendon, that he left all to his "care, and submitted to his advices, as to so many oracles."

* Stat. 10, Henry VII. Chap. iv.

'An act that no parliament be holden in this land, until the 'acts be certified unto England.' Rot. Parl. Cap. 9.

In Henry VIIIth's reign, there appears to have been a repeal, or rather a temporary suspension of this act. But the eleventh of Elizabeth revived it in a form in which it continued in force till the union. See Appendix.

'Often as he was absent from the privy council 'by reason of the gout,' we learn also upon the same authority, it was not seldom that at those times the king used to go to him for advice,* and his colleagues in office for instructions. On one occasion the duke of Ormond's purpose was to prevail upon him to give up the great seal, and to *take on himself* the title, as well as office, of prime minister. But the chancellor was not to be prevailed on, even at the instance of his illustrious friend, to grasp at the shadow of power, and thereby to risk the letting drop from his hand the substance: he had not so fruitlessly meditated on the spirit of the English constitution, the temper of the public mind, and the moral of Æsop's fable.

Yet we read that it was not till two years after when "no man can be more surprised, than the "chancellor was, at the receipt of a letter" in which lord Orrery informed him, there was now payable to his use the sum of 12,600*l.*; and that there would be the like sum received at the end of six months. On this the chancellor, "without returning any answer to the earl of "Orrery, writ by that post to" (his friend, the duke of Ormond,) "the lord lieutenant, to in-"form him of what the earl of Orrery had writ "to him, and desired him to inform him by his "own enquiry, what the meaning of it was." In answer, the lord lieutenant "informed him at "large, what title he had to that money, and how

Life, vol. ii. p. 93.

* 'The gout did often disable him from waiting on the king; 'yet during his credit, the king came constantly to him, when he was laid up by it.' Burnet's History.

" he came to have it: that shortly after the passing " that act of parliament, which had given his ma- " jesty the disposal of the money before men- " tioned, the earl of Orrery had come to him, the " lord lieutenant, and putting him in mind, how " the chancellor had rejected all overtures which " had been made to him of benefit out of that " kingdom,.....and wished that he would move " the king to confer some part of that money upon " the chancellor; which the lord lieutenant very " willingly did, and his majesty as cheerfully " granted."

It is natural to conclude, that he, who was thus anxious, that such merits as lord Clarendon's should be adequately appreciated, and rewarded, must himself have been a meritorious man. Hence it cannot be unacceptable to apprize, or remind the reader, that the earl of Orrery, better known as the lord Broghill, had really been (what others are erroneously stated to have been) " of nearest " trust with Cromwell;" to whom he had been eminently serviceable, especially in managing the affairs of Ireland. This noble lord had now in a similar employment transferred to the present king, the zeal and ability, which had been before devoted to the late lord protector.*

In Macpherson's Original Papers, among the " Extracts from the Life of King James II. writ- " ten by himself," occurs the following character of this noble personage.—" They began to think

* " The lord Broghill had been eminently against the king, " but upon this turn, when all other powers were down, emi- " nently for him." Continuation of Life, vol. ii. p. 49.

" of removing Ormonde from the lord lieutenancy " of Ireland. 'Twas the earl of Orrery, who first " put Buckingham on it: which earl was famous " for changing parties so often: and for making a " speech to Cromwell, to take the title of king. " His tongue was well hung. He had some good " parts: and he was reckoned so cunning a man, " that nobody would trust him, or believe what " he said."

Yet it is evident, that the royal annalist's father-in-law trusted him, so far as to believe what he had written, when bidding him to prepare for 25,200*l.* which no ill wind was blowing across the Irish channel in the very teeth of him, and against which there was no standing. This however was in the year 1662. Whereas king James is speaking of a political intrigue which did not happen till 1668.

Life, vol. ii. p. 85. The noble historian says, that the king had " resolved to retain all that should by forfeiture " or otherwise come to his majesty in his own " power; to the end, that when the settlement " should be made, he might be able to gratify " those of the *Irish* nation, who had any thing of " merit towards him, or had been least faulty..... " And though the king had before designed all " those forfeited lands to his brother the duke, " yet his highness was so pleased with the resolu- " tion his majesty had taken, to retain them to " that purpose, that he forebore to prosecute that " grant, till he heard of great quantities of land " every day granted away by his majesty to his " servants and others..... And then he resolved to

" be no longer a loser for the benefit of those, *who* " *had no pretence to what they got.*"

" The king had swerved from that rule, before " it was scarce discerned; and the error of it may " be very justly imputed to *the earl of Orrery, and* " *to none but him;* who believing that he never " could be well enough at court, except he had " *courtiers of all sorts obliged to him, who would* " *therefore speak well of him in all places and* " *companies*..... he commended to many of such " friends ..... many suits of that kind, and sent " certificates to them, *oftentimes under his own* " *hand,* of the value those suits might be to " them, if obtained..... Then he directed them a " way..... for the more immediate passing those " grants they could obtain, without meeting those " obstructions which they had been subject to: " for *when any of those grants had been brought to* " *the great seal of England, the chancellor always* " *stopped them.*" Life, vol. ii. p. 86.

Having thus traced to its main, and primary spring, this complicated *movement* of his sovereign's liberality, and having obtained from his friend secretary Nicholas, " a large account of " many gracious circumstances in the king's grant- " ing it, and *the obligation laid on him of secrecy,** P. 94.

* In the letter to which his friend sir Edward Nicholas, then secretary of state, procured his majesty's signature " there was " a clause, whereby it was specially provided, that I (the earl of " Clarendon) should have no notice of it: because it was said, " that *if I had notice of it, I should be so foolish, as to obstruct it* " *myself.*"

"*and the great caution that was used that* he "might have no notice of it." The chancellor

We are taught by the poet, that—

"Where ignorance is bliss,
"'Tis folly to be wise."

Here we learn from the historian, that—

Where policy is ignorance
'Tis wisdom to be "*foolish.*"

The gentle reader may possibly recollect, how, in order to accelerate the chancellor's advancement to the peerage, an adroitness of legerdemain, not inferior to any, that ever cleared a pocket of its contents, imperceptibly conveyed into the chancellor's hand "a little billet:" at once equivalent to the computed amount of slowly accumulating savings out of "the extraordi-"nary perquisites of his office." And hence "good easy man," he may naturally have concluded, that, 'sublatâ causâ tollitur 'effectus;' the sole objection to the peerage being removed, that the patent was made out without further difficulty. But, that this inference, however rational, is most erroneous, may be seen at page 386, from whence the following passage is transcribed.

Life, vol. i. p. 385.

"Nor did the king's goodness rest here; but the night be-"fore he began his journey towards the queen, he sent for the "attorney general, whom he knew to be most devoted to the "chancellor, and told him, 'that he must entrust him in an "'affair *that he must not impart to the chancellor:*' and then "gave him a warrant signed for the creation of him a baron; "which he commanded 'to be ready to pass the seal against the "'hour of his majesty's return, and he would then see it sealed "'himself; but *if the chancellor came first to know it, he would "'use great importunity to stop it.*' The attorney said, 'it "'would be impossible to conceal it from him, because, with-"'out his privity and direction, he knew not what title to give "'him for his barony.' The king replied with warmth, 'that "'he should confer with some of his friends of the way; but "'that he would take it ill of him, if there were any delay in it,

" did not think that there was any thing left for " him to do, but to make his humble acknow- " ledgement to his majesty for his royal bounty, " and to take care for the receiving and trans- " mitting the money; and doubted not but that " he might receive it very honestly."

If on the propriety of this conclusion, a doubt can any where exist, it must instantly cease on reading the following extract.—" The king's in- " terest had been so totally extinguished in that " kingdom for many years past, that there was no " person of any consideration there, who pretended

Life, vol. i. p. 441.

" ' and if it were not ready for the seal at the time of his return, " ' which would be in a few days.' The attorney came to the " chancellor and told him, ' he would break a trust to do him " ' a service; and therefore he presumed, that he would not be " ' so unjust to let him suffer by it:' and then told him all that " had passed between the king and him. And the chancellor " confessed, ' that the king's obliging manner of proceeding, and " ' the conjuncture in which this honour was given, though he " ' had before refused it with obstinacy, made it now very grate- " ' ful to him.' And so without hesitation, he told him what " title he would assume. And all was ready against the king's " return, and signed by him and sealed the same night."

Not many months after, the chancellor forfeited for a time the filial duty and affection of his royal son-in-law, by refusing an earldom: but soon " found upon recollection, he could not P. 493. " prudently refuse it."

It is curious to observe the contrivances and stratagems, to which recourse was necessarily had, in order to hoodwink this most reluctant dragon* of disinterestedness, and to deprive him, of all power of resistance, whenever he was to be pierced with a fresh honour or made to writhe under an additional grant.

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* " Nunc in reluctantes dracones."

" to wish that it were revived. At Cromwell's " death, and at the deposition of Richard, his " younger son Harry was invested in the full au- " thority, by being lieutenant of Ireland. The " two presidents of the two provinces, were *the* " *lord Broghill* in that of Munster, and sir Charles " Coote in that of Connaught; *both equally de-* " *pended upon the lieutenant: and they more de-* " *pended upon him and courted his protection*, by " their not loving one another,..... and *both of a long* " *aversion to the king, by multiplication of guilt.*"*

It is said a misfortune seldom comes unattended: we have here an extraordinary instance of a rapid succession, or rather simultaneous coincidence of most fortunate occurrences.—" At the very same " time, and the very day that the chancellor re- " ceived the letter from the lord lieutenant, the " earl of Portland came to him, and informed him " of a difference that was fallen out between the " lord Lovelace and sir Bulstrode Whitlock;"— that he had in vain attempted to reconcile them, and that the only expedient remaining was, that the chancellor should buy an estate, the sale and purchase of which was likely to become the subject of litigation between them. When lo! this very oyster, which the learned lord was requested to swallow, in order fully and equally to satisfy the two contending parties, turned out to be no other than the Blunsdon estate; immediately ad-

Life, vol. ii. p. 95, 96.

* If we may believe Evelyn—" the truth is, the chancellor, " during his grandeur, advanced the old rebels." Here, unless we disbelieve the chancellor himself, *the truth is, that during his grandeur, the old rebels advanced him.*

joining his own paternal property in Wiltshire. Hence luckily, as the noble auto-biographer observes, "the land was well known to him;"—and of course its value: and as he further repeats, "this proposition was made upon the very day, "as is said before, that he had received the let-"ter, ... by which it appeared that there was near "as much money already received for him, as "would pay for that purchase, besides what was "more to be received within six months after." Thus circumstanced "the wisest of English states-"men," like the wisest of the Grecian chiefs,

"Nestor—componere lites
"*Festinat*,"

instantly concludes the bargain, and "was as "easily prevailed with to undertake the payment "of the greatest part of the money upon sealing "the writings." How he was so easily prevailed with, we are not told. Possibly the practice of making allowance, and abatement on prompt payment, might have been already introduced. At all events we know, that the chancellor was at the moment in no want of ready cash.

Still remains one more fortunate coincidence to be noticed. The settlement, which the chancellor was at that time making on the marriage of his second son, afforded him the means of applying the residue of the second payment, which was to be made within six months; so that all, that was "left for him to do," namely, "to take "care for the receiving and transmitting the "money," was speedily and effectually done. For however 'surprised' the chancellor was at the

receipt of lord Orrery's letter, (and that "no man "was ever more surprised," we know on the best authority,) we have the following proof, that his presence of mind had not forsaken him. But here alas! we have also an instance of that, which is of far less rare occurrence,—the fickleness of fortune.

"But *the next* letters he received from Ireland "informed him, that the necessities of that king- "dom had been such, that they could only return "6000*l*..... and so he found himself engaged in "a purchase which he could not retract, upon "presumption of money which he could not re- "ceive. And he did not only never after receive "one penny of what was *due* upon the second "payment,..... but the remainder of the first sum, "which was *so borrowed or taken from him*, or "any part of it, was never after paid to him or to "his use." Most justly therefore the ex-chancellor in his vindication observes, that "he might rea- "sonably say that he was a loser, and involved "in a great debt, by that signal bounty of his "majesty;" having agreed to pay down more money together, than is usual in such purchases; presuming that he could not be disappointed of the mentioned sum of *money from Ireland*: "the "sole ground and encouragement to undertake "the bargain." He hopes however, that the king's signal "bounty will in due time be made good to "him, being under so good a security,* as an act "of parliament."

* That this act of parliament was the best possible security, which the king could have had, for the payment of the money

To have submitted that lord Clarendon's protestation of his "never having seen the act of parliament," and of his being "most confident, that "he never heard of it at the time when it passed," can only be considered as a quibbling jesuitical equivocation, must doubtless have appeared unwarranted, uncandid, and irreverent, even to profaneness. On the inferences to be drawn from the following extracts, let the votaries of that illustrious personage pronounce judgement, and designate the result by its most appropriate title.

On being apprized by the duke of Ormond of his majesty's gracious disposition to confer on him a considerable grant of crown lands, "the chancellor,—after having extolled the king's generosity, that *he could, in so great necessities of his own,* think of dispensing so great a bounty upon a poor servant, *who was already recompensed* beyond what he could be ever able to deserve,"—declared to his illustrious friend "that '*he would* '*never receive any crown lands from the king's* '*gift,* and did not wish to have any other honour 'or any advantage, but what his office brought 'him, till *seven years* should pass; in which all 'the distractions of the kingdom might be com-'posed, and the necessities thereof so provided 'for, *that the king might be able, without hurting*

Life, vol. i. p. 407.

to be levied upon some specified lands in the several provinces of Ireland, and to be disposed of afterwards according to his majesty's discretion, is as obvious as it is certain. But it is not equally so, how the same can be said to have guaranteed to the lord Clarendon the making good to *him* of that "signal bounty," which the king had of his *own free will and pleasure* granted.

" ' *himself*, to exercise some liberality towards his " ' servants who had served him well.' How he " *seemed* to part from this resolution in some " particulars afterwards, and why he did so, may " be collected out of what hath been truly set " down before."

This occurred in the year 1660. In the year 1667, precisely the above-stated period of seven years, the chancellor was impeached by the commons of England of high treason. And the eighth article of the charge is—" that he had in a short " time gained to himself a far greater estate, than " can be imagined to be lawfully gained in so " short a time; and contrary to his oath, he had " procured several grants under the great seal " from his majesty to himself, and to his relations,* " of several of his majesty's lands, hereditaments, " and leases to the disprofit of his majesty."

In answer the ex-chancellor repels the opprobrious allegation by declaring, that " *he* never " *moved* his majesty in his life for any one grant " to himself or any of his relations. Yet since his " majesty's goodness had thought him fit for it, " he hoped many others would think so too."

On this it may surely be admissible to suggest the following question:—Whether to have himself moved his majesty for any one grant would have been more disgraceful than to have received a grant, to confer which his majesty had been moved

* " There was a clause likewise in the said letter,—(to which " secretary Nicholas procured his majesty's signature)—which " directed the payment of the same monies to his heirs, execu- " tors and assigns, if he should die before the receipt thereof."

by one, such as the noble historian has repeatedly described the earl of Orrery to have been? May it not further be asked, whether the instances occur not of similar distinctions having been satisfactory to the conscience of this most scrupulously disinterested minister? The specific charge of having "procured grants *under the great seal*," is not refuted, as certainly it might have been in one case. For in the already extracted entry in Pepys's Diary we have read—"the king has this "day sent his order to the *privy seal* for the pay- "ment of this twenty thousand pounds to the "*lord chancellor* to clear the mortgage."

In the same answer to the same article of charge —"he said, he hath none of his majesty's lands, "*but what he had bought for as much, as any body* "*would pay for them, of those who had the same* "*granted to them by his majesty's bounty.*" This may be very true, but that which appears to be not less true, is that Clarendon Park had been granted to the duke of Albemarle, with a mortgage, and without the timber: but when the chancellor "fetched his title of earldom from thence," it was with the timber, and without the mortgage.

The illustrious auto-biographer says,—"there "are many persons of honour, who will be ready "to testify, that when upon his majesty's first re- "turn, some propositions were made to him of "receiving the grant of some forfeited lands in "Ireland, and other overtures of immediate benefit "in money, (which *others* did and *lawfully might* "*accept*;) he rejected all propositions of that kind, "or relating to it and *declared publicly and*

" *privately*, that he would neither have lands in " Ireland nor *the least benefit from thence* till all " differences and pretences in that kingdom should " be so fully settled and agreed, that there could " be no more appeal to the king, or repairing to " the king's council for justice: in which, he said, " he should never be thought so competent an " adviser, if he had any title of his own in that " kingdom to bias his inclination. And *he was* " *often heard to say, that he never took a firmer* " *resolution in any particular in his life, than to* " *adhere to that conclusion.* Yet because *he did* " *receive some money out of Ireland*, and had *a* " *lawful right to receive more*, it may not be amiss " in this place, for his vindication, to set down " particularly how that came to pass." This he has done in that narrative, from which the material parts have already been extracted. Thus his readers are fully enabled to judge, how far they concur with him in " not doubting, but that he " might receive this royal bounty very honestly;" and how far they adopt " the judgment of all im- " partial men," that this " very true account of " that business," with all the circumstances of the money *so* received, " cannot reflect to the prejudice " of his integrity and honour."

But there can be no difference of opinion, as to the justice of the following, and last, observation on this transaction. " That the chancellor has " great reason to complain of these his very good " friends, *who first disposed* his majesty to that act " of grace; and *were not afterwards solicitous* " *enough, in their several places, to make it effec-*

" *tual to him*;" Hence these his very good friends (among whom, ci-devant Broghill like another

" Turnus,—ut ante volans tardum precesserat agmen"

and had been *the first* to dispose those, " who first " disposed the king to that act of grace,") must have discovered, how greatly, in consequence of the chancellor's having " rejected all *overtures*," they had over-rated his " *foolishness*." There is however this to be pleaded in excuse of their own, that it was not till several years after, that Dryden produced his Spanish Friar, who had " sworn not " to take the fifty pieces."

In penetration, sagacity, and discernment how much were these two great peers surpassed by little Pepys. He though like Witherington, but " a squire alone," saw at once the difference between " overtures" and " propositions" of grants, and the grants themselves; and, though never before having had the honour to be in the lord high chancellor's presence, no sooner heard his lordship protest, that " he would not direct him " in any thing: that it might not *be said*, that the " lord chancellor did labour to abuse the king; " or direct the suspending the report of the pur- " veyors;" but he at once saw " *what his lordship* " *meant*;" and " resolved to make it *his work* to do " *him service* therein." And when this keeper of the king's conscience (so vigilant, intent and absorbed in watching over that sacred deposit, as that his own could, unobserved, occasionally find means for little temporary escapes,) was heard to " say " plainly, that he would not have any man have

" it in his power to say, that my lord Clarendon " did contrive the wronging the king of his tim- " ber:" the intuitive secretary of the admiralty as plainly " *perceived*, that he *would be glad to have* " *service done him therein*; and that *his business* " should be done *in the best manner for him*."*

Upon which 'unhappy Pepys' (as he calls himself for having incurred the premier's displeasure) instantly set about making a report of the timber in Clarendon Park, such as might " appease" the scrupulous statesman: and at last drew up one, which " he hopes will please his lordship." Nor was he disappointed: for not only was he " thanked " for his desire and pains to serve him;" but— " it was pleasant to think" (says the delighted commissioner) " that, while he was talking to me " comes into the garden sir G. Carteret: (against " whom lord Clarendon was at the moment de- " claring how much he was incensed,) and my " lord avoided speaking with him, and made him " and many others stay expecting; while I walked " up and down above an hour, I think: and he " would have me walk with my hat on!" There can be no doubt, that at parting he was as much impressed, as his lordship himself, that no man " was more affable and courteous to all kinds of " persons than the chancellor."

Not so sir G. Carteret. He had reason to discover that—

" Still in their ashes lived their wonted *fires*:"

* That, for which " these his very good friends," were reproached, was the not being " solicitous enough" in " *their* se- " veral places to make the act of grace effectual to *him*."

however "*much extinguished their unruliness*;" See p. 8. and that there was yet remaining somewhat of "pride and passion;" and of "that humour, be-"tween wrangling and disputing, which" (formerly) "had been very troublesome." Sir G. Carteret, at this time treasurer of the navy, had been governor of Jersey, when the prince of Wales took refuge there, with the council appointed by the king to attend him: of which sir Edward Hyde was the member, in whom, of course, his majesty principally confided. The queen had been long anxious, that her son should be under her own eye at Paris. And it had been a matter of warm debate in the prince's council, whether or not her earnest wishes should be complied with. The prince at last decided for himself, that he would go to his mother. On this the chancellor of the exchequer, who had been the most strenuous opponent to that measure, determined to remain in the Island. The account, given by the noble writer of his own life, of how he passed his time during so momentous a public crisis, is too curious, interesting, and edifying not to be here acceptable.

"The chancellor being thus left alone, he was "with great civility and friendship invited by sir "George to remove from the town, (where he had "lived with his friends till then,) and to *live with* "*him* in the castle Elizabeth; whither he went "the next day after the departure of the lord "Hopton, and remained there, to his wonderful "contentment, in the very cheerful society of sir "G. Carteret and his lady; in whose house he re-"ceived all the liberty and entertainment he could

Life, vol. i. p. 242.

" have expected in his own family; *of which he* " *always retained so just a memory, that there* " *was never any intermission or decay of that friend-* " *ship he then made.*

" He built a lodging in the castle, of two or " three convenient rooms, to the wall of the church, " which sir G. Carteret had repaired and beauti- " fied; and over the door of his *lodging* he set up " *his arms,* with this inscription—" Bene vixit, qui " bene latuit:"—and he always took pleasure in re- " lating, with what great tranquillity of spirit " (though deprived of the joy he took in his wife " and children) he spent his time here, amongst his " books (which he got from Paris) and his papers; " between which he seldom spent less than ten " hours in the day: and it can hardly be believed " how much he read and writ there; insomuch as " he did usually compute, that during his whole " stay in Jersey, which was *some months above two* " *years,* he writ daily little less than one sheet of " large paper with his own hand; most of which " are still to be seen amongst his papers."

As the society of sir G. Carteret and his lady was so very cheerful, it is not likely that there should have been a niggardly dispensation of good cheer at their hospitable board. So that their right honourable and learned guest may well be said in a sensual acceptation of the words to have *lived well.* But how is the 'bene latuit' to be interpreted, as applicable to this best as well as wisest of English statesmen; to this most efficient as well as most virtuous of ministers at such a period as this of public calamities.

If during the two years of his 'refreshment' in Spain, he could not at all times 'put off the 'thought of the miserable condition of his (second) 'master,' how could he in Jersey for one moment be unmindful of the infinitely more 'miserable 'condition' of his first, for the space of two other years, commencing in July, 1646? How could he be unsolicitous to hasten to the aid of that master, in his utmost need, with those sage counsels, which, as he affirms, were ever deservedly prized beyond others? How could he then feel, but still more how could he ever after reflect on, and even relate, with pleasure his 'great tranquillity 'of spirit;' while lying thus snugly perdu ('*bene latuit*') immersed in the enjoyment of his French books, Latin mottoes, and (untaxed) armorial bearings?

But far above all, how could he have been "wont to say, that of the infinite blessings which "God had vouchsafed to confer upon him almost "from his cradle, among which he delighted in "the reckoning up many signal instances, he es- "teemed himself so happy in none as in his three "acquiescences, in every one of which God had "given him grace and opportunity* to make full "reflections upon his actions, and his observations "upon what he had done himself, and what he "had seen others do and suffer; to repair the "breaches in his own mind, and to fortify himself Life, vol. iii. p. 458.

* However this may have been in his third and last acquiescence surely during the two first, considering where they were passed, and how they were employed, he was more blessed with *opportunity* than *grace*.

" with new resolutions against future encounters " in an entire resignation of all his thoughts and " purposes into the disposal of God Almighty, " and in a firm confidence of his protection and " deliverance in all difficulties he should be obliged " to contend with; towards the obtaining whereof " he renewed those vows and promises of integrity " and hearty endeavour to perform his duty, which " are the only means to procure the continuance " of that protection and deliverance."

The king always (lord Clarendon mentions more than one instance of it) strongly inculcated on his children the utmost obedience and deference to their royal mother, excepting in matters of religion. No one knew better than sir Edward Hyde how bigoted a Catholic her majesty was, and how zealous in gaining proselytes to that faith. Hence some perhaps may think, that the prince's determination to reside with the queen his mother, and especially at Paris, was at least an additional reason, if not a stronger than any before operating, why the Telemachus of England needed more than ever his tutelary Minerva under the form of the 'chancellor.' And they may further think, that this duly appointed guardian of the heir to the throne was not duly 'functus officio:' because (as he writes to the duke of Ormond on the 22nd of June, 1646), " I have de- " sired leave of the prince to breathe in this island " *a little** for my *refreshment*." And if they think so, and in so thinking err; they err with the king.

* " Tempus inane peto, spatium requiemque" of only two whole years.

This fact is established by the most strangely communicative of all auto-biographers. Who certifies, that by the king's command, Dr. Sheldon, then clerk of the closet, writ to him word, "that the "king was sorry that he, the chancellor, staid at "Jersey, and did not attend the prince into France; "and that if he had been there, he would have "been able to have prevented the vexation his "majesty had endured at Newcastle, by messages "from Paris." Life, vol. i. p. 244.

Of these messages, one, of which sir William D'Avenant was the bearer, has been particularly noticed in the History of the Rebellion. When D'Avenant, who had been despatched by the queen, for the purpose of persuading the king to give up the church, among other things, said, "it "was the advice and opinion of all his friends; his "majesty asking, 'what friends?' and he answer-"ing, 'that it was the opinion of the lord Jermyn,' "the king said, 'that the lord Jermyn did not un-"'derstand any thing of the church.' The other "said, 'the lord Colepepper was of the same mind.' "The king said, 'Colepepper had no religion:' and "asked whether the chancellor of the exchequer "was of that mind? to which he answered, 'he "'did not know, for that he was not there, (at "'Paris), and had deserted the prince:'... to which "the king said, 'the chancellor was an honest "'man; and would never desert him, nor the "'prince, nor the church; and that *he was sorry*, "'*he was not with his son.*'" Hist vol. v. p. 411.

But that the king could entertain no other sentiments and opinion on this point, lord Claren-

don antecedently possessed a knowledge, at least equally clear and precise as that, which he subsequently obtained. This is ascertained at page 214, vol. i. of his life.

"The king at that time having resolved to "separate the prince his son from himself, by "sending him into the west, the chancellor had "a great desire to excuse himself from attending "upon the prince in that journey; and represented "to his majesty, that his office made it more "proper for him to be near his majesty's person; "and therefore renewed his suit again to him, "that his service might be spared in that employ-"ment; which he was the less inclined to, because "he had discovered, that neither the duke of "Richmond or the earl of Southampton did in-"tend to wait upon his highness in that expedi-"tion: but the king told him positively, and "with some warmth, that *if he would not go, he "would not send his son:* whereupon he sub-"mitted to do any thing which his majesty should "judge fit for his service."

The reason for the king's determination, that the chancellor's attendance on the prince should be an absolute 'sine quâ non' to the adoption of this important measure, is evident in many passages, both in the History of the Rebellion, and in the life of the noble historian. The king in his attempt to reconcile the chancellor with Colepepper, is represented to have said to the former, "though you are joined with other honest men, "yet my great confidence is upon you two."

Life, vol. i. p. 229.

In the continuation of lord Clarendon's life, we

read—"when the prince was separated from his "father, the king commanded him (the chancellor) "to attend his highness into the west, *under more "than a common trust, &c.*" "The unavoidable "necessity of transporting the person of the prince "out of the kingdom, which was entrusted only "to four of the council, by the king, and by his "command reserved from his governor (the earl "of Berkshire) and another," &c. Is it not then strange, that the chancellor thus strictly enjoined, "*under more than a common trust;*"—expressly told by the king, that his greatest confidence was in him and Colepepper; and knowing, as he well did, that his majesty, however highly and deservedly he rated the ability, zeal, and devotion of the latter, concurred with himself in thinking him not sufficiently impressed with the importance of preserving entire the church establishment,* should have felt himself justified to remain in Jersey, and to see the prince depart for France,

Vol. iii. p. 461.

* "When the two bills were sent to the king, *for the grant-"ing the militia, and the removing the bishops out of the house of "peers,*..... sir John Colepepper ..... much desired that the "king would pass that against the bishops, and absolutely reject "the other..... He urged therefore to the king, no other person "present, the necessity of giving the parliament satisfaction in "one of those bills; and that there were more who would be "satisfied with that concerning the bishops, than with the other "concerning the militia; and therefore it would be best to "gratify the major part..... The king asked him whether Ned "Hyde was of that mind; to which he answered he was not; "nor did wish that either of the bills should be passed; which "he thought, as the time was, could not be a reasonable judg-"ment: the king said '*it was his;* and that *he would run the* "*hazard.*'" Life, vol. i. p. 112-15.

and there to join the queen his mother, attended *only* by this very Colepepper, who alone of the whole council, appointed by the king, had not protested against that measure: and that he should think the permission so to remain, granted by the son, yet a minor,* could cancel and abrogate the reiterated solemn charges and injunctions imposed by his royal father.

Hist. vol. v. p. 403. On "this so positive declaration of the prince's "own resolution ..... every man of the council, "the lord Colepepper only excepted, besought his "highness, 'that he would give them his pardon, "'if they did not further wait upon him; for they "'conceived their commission to be now at an "'end.'" "Within a day or two after the prince's P. 406. "departure from Jersey, the earl of Berkshire left "it likewise, ... the lords Capel, Hopton and the "chancellor of the exchequer, remained together "in Jersey to expect the king's pleasure, and to "*attend a conjuncture to appear again in his ma-*

* If his royal highness at Jersey had forgotten that he was still "in statu pupillari," he was soon reminded of it after his arrival at Paris: and practically taught, that Horace has truly described as—

"—piger annus
"Pupillis, quos dura premit custodia matrum."

P. 414. "The only notice taken of him by the French court, being a "mean addition to the pension which the queen had before, "without any mention of the prince her son; who was wholly "to depend upon her bounty, without power to gratify or "oblige any of his own servants; that they likewise might "depend only upon the queen's goodness and favour; and so P. 555. "behave themselves accordingly ..... Nor was the prince "himself ever master of ten pistoles, to dispose as he desired."

"*jesty's service; . . . . . who very well interpreted all* "*that they had done according to the sincerity of* "*their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had like-* "*wise waited upon the prince into France, they* "*might have been able to have prevented or diverted* "*those violent pressures, which were afterwards* "*made upon him from thence, and gave him more* "*disquiet than he suffered from all the insolence* "*of his enemies.*" So that it is clear, that Colepepper was the only one of the council, who fulfilled his majesty's intentions and expectations. And, as Capel and Hopton, not long after Berkshire's departure, found "*a conjuncture to appear* "*again in his majesty's service;*" so it is not less clear, that the chancellor was the only one of the council, who remained in Jersey; and this for the sole and avowed purpose of "*refreshment!*" Yet neither on his appointment to that commission, any more than on occasion of his subsequent embassy to Spain, had he thought it necessary to resign his office of chancellor of the exchequer; the duties of which "*requiring his constant attendance* "*on the king's person*" had been the *pretence*, by which he had sought to excuse himself from being nominated of the prince's council.

We read in the History of the Rebellion, that vol. v. p. 448. "John Ashburnham, who was driven from the "king by the Scots . . . . . having found upon his address to the queen at Paris upon his first arrival, "that his abode in some other place would not "be ungrateful to her majesty,* so removed to

* Where lord Clarendon, speaking of himself, says—"He "knew he was not in the queen's favour at all," Warburton in

31354

" Rouen; where he had the society of many who " had served the king in the most eminent quali- " fications When he heard where the king was " (with the army); and that there was not the " same restraint that had been formerly, he *re-* " *solved to make an adventure* to wait on him; " having no reason to doubt but that his presence " would be very acceptable to the king." And it is added, that his arrival proved, as he had anticipated, " most welcome to his royal master."

If then the chancellor had " resolved to make " a similar *adventure*," how cordial would have been the reception which he would have met with from his gratified and grateful sovereign? How far beyond a mere adequate atonement, or a countervailing compensation, for all the vexatious and mortifying messages from Paris, (which the king, as he conceived, might have been spared by the chancellor's attendance on the prince), would have been found in the positive advantages, derivable from the restoration to the royal presence of the most confidential, most influential, and most congenial* of all his responsible advisers!

The possible extent of the beneficial conse-

his notes observes—' this was the greatest, as well as the most ' deserved compliment he could pay himself.'

Life, vol. i. p. 110.

* " His principles were much more agreeable to his majesty's " own judgment, than those of either of the other (sir John " Colepepper, or the lord Falkland); and what he said was of " equal authority with him; and when any advice was given by " either of the other, the king usually asked, ' whether Ned Hyde " ' were of that opinion?' ..... but *his having no relation of ser-* " *vice*, and so no pretence to be seen often at court, ... great " jealousy was entertained towards him."

quences are truly incalculable. Knowing, as we do, how much lord Clarendon has disapproved of the king's removal from Hampton Court, he would probably, and with the happiest success, have recommended that prospective caution, which

"makes us rather bear those ills we have,
"Than fly to others, that we know not of."

Or if escape on mature deliberation had been the ultimately adopted measure, what expedients would not his fertile and cultivated mind have substituted for the only one, which the barren imagination of a groom of the bedchamber, when resorted to in the absence of all the ministers of state, had been able to devise? The Isle of Wight—which to all other eyes, instead of a place of refuge, retreat, and retirement, was obviously, as inevitably, but the half-way house on the high road to the scaffold! It may be said, that the insignificancy of John Ashburnham, both in his personal, and official character, was the best recommendation to the favor of those, into whose hands the king had fallen: and that hence was readily conceded to him that permission, which would have been peremptorily denied to the most able and efficient member of the king's late council. Yet here at least it is ascertained on the, not unconfirmed, authority of the most candid and authentic of historians, that very shortly before this disastrous flight, the duke of Ormond, and the lord Capel, had each separately been allowed access to their captive sovereign. And surely these most distinguished and illustrious royalists, from their ceaseless and indefatigable

ubiquity, were to Cromwell and Ireton as much, and as deservedly, objects of suspicion, dread, and hatred, as the more stationary, and quiescent sir Edward Hyde.

Hist. vol. v. p. 476. "In this general and illimited indulgence,* the "lord Capel took the opportunity to wait on the "king at Hampton Court; and gave him a par- "ticular account of all that passed at Jersey." It was then his majesty heard with so much satisfaction, that the chancellor was employed on his great historical Work. In consequence of which "he writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and "kind letter..... He thanked him for undertak- "ing the work he was upon; and told him, he "should expect speedily to receive from him some "contribution towards it." Surely neither from these approving thanks, nor promised contributions, can it be fairly argued, that his majesty sanctioned the chancellor's remaining two years longer in Jersey. Such a consequence, as no very logical deduction, might be fairly denied, even if fewer instances had been cited of the king's *regret*; and even that one,† which shews

* "The marquis of Ormond had *often* attended the king at
Hist. vol. v. p. 522. "Hampton court,"—"and having conferred with his majesty, "as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what "was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that the "king left Hampton Court, he in disguise, and without being "attended by more than one servant, rid into Sussex; and, "in an obscure and unguarded port or harbour, put himself on "board a shallop, which safely transported him into Normandy."

Life, vol. ii. p. 243. † "He also writ with his own hand,..... that he looked upon "him as one of those who had served him most faithfully, and

that, if these declarations of regret had not been accompanied with those of censure, it was alone owing to that considerate candour, which "*well* "*interpreted all, that they had done, as accord-* "*ing to the sincerity of their hearts.*" Which interpretation must surely be considered, as conveying an implied disapprobation of the resolution itself. But we are told, that, having finished "the first four Books of his immortal "History," the chancellor immediately betook himself to his "devotional exercises, in a Com- "mentary on the Psalms." Was that also a task imposed, or to which he was encouraged, by his royal patron?—It is not impossible; for he was in truth a still more invariably 'religious,' than universally 'gracious king;' but as a fact, it has never been so affirmed, or even insinuated. At all events the connection between the two tasks, and how the one led to the other, is not very obvious. In sir Hugh Evans's more tuneful medley of madrigal and psalmody, the transition is natural and easy from "shallow rivers" to the "Waters "of Babylon."

It may be objected, that in contradiction and defiance of sentiments, professed in the Exordium to this Discourse, there is here an attack on lord Clarendon, rather than a defence of John Ashburnham. It may be asked; what are all these details to the latter, or he to them; that they

"therefore, he might be confident of his kindness; though..... "he said he did not hold him to be infallible, as he might "discern from what he had commanded Dr. Sheldon to write to "him." See p. 96.

should be inserted in a vindication of his conduct; since they are those of transactions, to which so far from having been a party, he is not so much as remotely implicated in them? The answer submitted is;—that in cases, where no positive facts have been adduced in proof;* and where in disproof none are now adducible: where the charge is raised solely on unsubstantial allegations, and unauthenticated depositions; these are entitled to our belief no further, than the ascertained characters of the accusers, or deponents, are deserving of our deference and respect. And how is this preliminary requisite to be secured?

"Saxum gutta cavat, non vi, sed sæpe cadendo:"

even so, and by such slow degrees only, is a man's character to be penetrated. From a view taken of him on some single, or rare, occasion of fortuitous emergency, or some momentary crisis of uncommon pressure, it is as likely, that the conclusion should be erroneous, as that it should be correct.

But so often as various opportunities may not have been wanting to observe in similar situations, and analogous cases, a manifestly habitual identity of sentiments, and uniformity of actions; so often is discovered, or detected, a quality, which, be it good or bad, must be a constituent element, rather than an accessory ingredient of the compound character, subjected to analytical examination. Few have been so profusely lavish of facilities for instituting, and pursuing such a process, as the

* Such as that of the king and his market-man.

lord Clarendon. Who in his confidential, and even confessionary communicativeness, unreservedly developes to the readers of his posthumous publications, how he outwitted his contemporaries, and more especially duped* his two successive sovereigns. Hence in the foregoing disquisition, no fact has been advanced unsupported by at least one parallel.

The farce of resisting coyness to the solicitations of the king, and his colleagues in office, is so often repeated, that it may be said in theatrical phrase, to have had quite a run. And it is twice in evidence, that as the poet says of the rose-bud,

See pages 55 and 56.

"Quanta si mostra men', tant' è piu bella,"

so the less notorious was a grant, or a gratuity, the more was it prized. For his skill in handling a cat's paw, the lord treasurer Cottington may vouch: but this was not only equalled, but surpassed, in the ingenuity, by which, (in case that some little incorrectness had been discovered in the commissioner's report, concerning the timber in Clarendon Park,) it was contrived, that "unhappy Pepys" alone would have got a rap on the knuckles; while the chancellor's (whose alone was the "itching palm,") would have escaped unbroken. The necessity of elucidating one of those ambiguous sentences, with which the pages of

Page 49.

* As for instance, when he made Charles II. believe, that he was going to Madrid on purpose to get him an "*annual exhibition*;" but having once arrived there, we hear only of those *daily exhibitions* of the Fiestas; to which alone his unremitting attention is evidently directed.

this admired writer so much abound, introduced the two instances above alluded to; in order to shew, that it was lord Clarendon's desire and object, to appear the very reverse of that, which he really was. Nor can it have escaped the reader, that the first and second of "his three *Acquiescences, Recesses, Vacations*, or *Retreats*," are the exact counterparts of each other. The true reason, and the false pretence, for excusing himself from being named of the prince's council, in the first instance; and the false pretence and true reason for his contriving to be sent on the extraordinary embassy, in the second, are alike distinctly assigned. And it is equally manifest, that neither in Jersey, nor in Spain, could he find the "*otium*," of which he was in search; unless it was—"cum "dignitate." As neither bull-feasts, nor book-feasts, could "refresh his spirits," and "improve "his understanding," until he had been fairly established in one of the most gorgeous palaces of Madrid. For of such must have been one, for which at that day the king paid a rent of four hundred pounds sterling.* So, notwithstanding

See p. 97.

See p. 35.

* Since this conjecture was hazarded, it appears from the last edition of the "History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in "England," that in all the former, "the following description "of their house and condition had been omitted;" which is now happily restored.

Hist. vol. vi. p. 381.

"A good house, wherein three grandees had lived; and yet, ... "they were compelled to defer their remove for at a least a week, "to devise a place where to make a kitchen, there being no "chimney in the house, but in the garrets, and of those not "one big enough to roast a joint of meat; but rather hearths,

the wonderful tranquillity, familiar liberty, and cheerful society, which he enjoyed under the hospitable roof of sir George Carteret and his lady, could he never feel himself quite at home; until he had set up over the door of his *lodging* an appropriate motto, and more appropriating coat of arms.

Latin mottoes indeed seem at all times to have

" on which several pipkins might be set together ..... So that " there being a stable adjoining to the house, they built a " chimney and ovens there, which accommodated them well."

" All the rooms of reception and entertainment were well " furnished out of the king's wardrobe, with tapestry hangings " and chairs, which were changed upon the change of the " season, with a cloth of state, and two very good beds for the " ambassadors themselves ..... The king's coach always waited " upon them at their door."

" So that they began to be at much more ease, and *looked* " more like ambassadors than they had done, and *began to* " *think* of their negociation."

" It will not be unseasonable in this place to take a view of " the state of that court at this time, and of the kingdom, that " it may be the less wondered at, that an embassy, which had " *no other end* than to procure relief and support for a distressed " prince, had no better effect."

Surely for—" no other end," we should here read no other pretext. We have learnt, that the lord high treasurer had come to Madrid for two purposes; the one to change the " dismal " gloom" of a dank Dutch atmosphere, for the " celestial light" of Spanish sun-shine; the other to apostatize, a second time, from the established religion of his native country. The chancellor of the exchequer also had his two purposes, already more than sufficiently noted. The ostensible object of the extraordinary embassy being to obtain an eleemosynary " exhibition" for the king of the beggars,—even after the restoration of his three hereditary crowns, that " *facile* princeps" of royal pensioners, and stipendiary sovereigns.

been prized by the chancellor of the exchequer, not less than Spanish proverbs were by the governor of Barataria. At an earlier period—"*Cautè "non castè*"—was the maxim,* by which as we are told, his course of life was regulated. During his third and last acquiescence, it is probable that this was reversed. It is certain that the "*cautè*" was no longer observed in his writings bearing the dates of Montpelier, Pezenas, or Moulins. These attest, that the pen of autobiography was never guided by a hand more incautious, than the chancellor's.

Life, vol. iii. p. 460.

"'Twas strange, 'twas passing strange," (and is it not "pitiful,—wond'rous pitiful?") thus to read, not in the tone of contrite confession, but of boastful avowal, these (lord Clarendon's!) self applauding reminiscences. To be told of repeated derelictions of the most sacred duties to his king; and consequently to his country; as if these were but the venial vagaries of a truant school-boy:—and of personal advantages, and unimparted benefits, meanly secured by the hazardous agency of others, without risking his own: as though such were the laughably mischievous tricks of wanton, yet harmless childhood.—To behold him with exulting complacency pointing out the contrasted discordance between the ostensible objects, and the real motives, of his own ministerial counsels. At

* It does not appear that this motto was inscribed over his door. On the contrary he relates, that he was "careful" to preserve himself "from any notable scandal;" thus shewing in one more instance (making the fourth) that it was his object, to be one thing, and to be thought another.

one time without a blush unveiling his own deceit: at another shamelessly exposing his own duplicity: and thus, unconsciously, holding himself forth to the world, a warning spectacle, to shew how self-injurious is the indulged pruriency of an over-weening self-conceit;—how suicidal the uncurbed licence of a garrulous egotism!

Before these concluding Remarks be pronounced libellous, or rather, considering to whom they relate, blasphemous, let it be remembered that they arise out of a statement of facts, which is in truth but a cento of passages collected from lord Clarendon's own writings. And whether they have been fairly extracted, and faithfully transcribed, there can be no difficulty in ascertaining, since there is not one, for which a reference has not been given to the volume and page, where it occurs.

Let it not be said, that vindication is but the excuse for this attack, while vindictiveness is the excitement to it. Nor let the means be so mistaken for the end, as to induce a suspicion, that in order to palliate the *invasion of the chancellor of the exchequer's office*, or by way of a set-off against the charge of Ashburnham's being *the king's market-man* for the contraband traffick and illicit prostitution of the royal prerogative, instances have been sought, and collected, to shew that not even in the first and wisest of English statesmen, or in the most authentic of historians, has been realized that most extravagantly fanciful of chimeras, the "faultless monster."

Let it be remembered that in all courts of

justice, as it is allowed to the advocate, so it is his bounden duty, to avail himself of the two most powerfully efficacious pleas, which can be urged to the invalidation, if not to the rejection, of the testimony against the accused, by establishing the pre-existence of a particular enmity, or general laxity of adherence to truth, in prosecutor, or witness.

But above all, let it be recollected that besides these comparatively trivial charges, his client stands impeached for treason to his king, for treachery to his master, for ingratitude to his benefactor. A combination of atrocious crimes so horrible, that if the calumnious imputation cannot be repelled, even to demonstration, it must be acknowledged that a more opprobrious inheritance was never in perpetuity entailed, a more execrable stigma was never indelibly branded, than the name of such a monster on his lineal descendants.

*** The author regrets that he had not sufficiently acquainted himself with the contents of the Clarendon State Papers, until his first, and, in part, his second volume had been printed. Hence he has been obliged to avail himself in the Appendix of those important extracts, which he should otherwise have incorporated with the materials composing the latter portion of the foregoing commentary.

Reasonably anticipating the probability, that not many readers will persevere in toiling through all the intermediate dulness, which separates this early stage of the Vindication from it's remote Appendix, he conceives it to be fit that he should here apprize those, who may not already, through disgust, or impatience, have thrown aside the book, that they will find, (as he verily believes), at page lxxvi and the following, (to page cxxvii) of the Appendix, borne out to the utmost, on lord Clarendon's own testimony and authority, every construction, conclusion, and conjecture, which have been hazarded in the remarks on the first and second of his (so called) Acquiescences.

They will further find raised to a height of certainty, beyond the reach of denial, doubt, or cavil, the surmise, that the king (notwithstanding all attempts to induce a contrary belief) never could have approved of the chancellor's desertion of the prince, or of his subsequently continued residence for two years in the island of Jersey. Nay more,

they will be convinced, on the same incontrovertible evidence, not only that sir Edward Hyde did thereby incur, but that he knew he had so incurred, his majesty's marked and notified displeasure, as to despair of obtaining, till after death, that royal forgiveness, which, while living, he had in vain implored.

PART II.

"NEQUID FALSI DICERE AUDEAT, NEQUID VERI NON AUDEAT."

Such is the motto affixed to the title-page of lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. Surely the former of these precepts is understood in too limited a sense, or but partially observed by an historian, who considers himself to be thus restricted only from saying what he knows to be false, and therefore at liberty to adopt, and consequently to accredit matters of fact and of opinion, without ascertaining the truth of the one, or the justice of the other. If minute circumstances be voluntarily and unnecessarily detailed, their abstract insignificancy affords no excuse for the careless introduction of them. Nothing deemed by him worth recording can be undeserving of his pains to verify, though much, which claims research, may not prove entitled to ulterior notice.

Where the existence of authentic and incontrovertible documents is notorious, the historian's neglect to consult them is not more reprehensible with respect to others than impolitick towards

himself; inasmuch as he cannot incur the liability of misinforming his readers on the authority of others without the risk of invalidating his own.

From many passages in the History of the Rebellion relating to transactions, in which the illustrious author was not personally engaged, or to events which occurred not within the scope of his own observation, there is evidence of his having relied either too credulously on information little competent to establish facts and dates, or too confidently on a memory not exempt from human fallibility. This is no where more strongly exemplified than throughout his very circumstantial, most authoritative, and equally erroneous account of the king's removal to the Isle of Wight.

Hist. vol. v. pp. 487, et seq.

"The king found himself in great perplexity, "from what he discerned, and observed himself, "as well as what he heard from others; but what "use to make of the one or the other, was very "hard to resolve: *he did really believe that their* "*malice was at the height, and that they did design* "*his murder, but knew not which was a probable* "*way to prevent it.* The making an escape, *if* "*it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity,* "*would expose him to be assassinated,* by pretended "ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; "and if he could avoid their guards, and get be-"yond them undiscovered, *whither should he go?* "*and what place would receive and defend him?* "The hope of the city seemed not to him to "have a foundation of reason; they had been too

" late subdued to recover courage for such an " adventure; and the army now was much more " master of it than when they desponded. There " is reason to believe that he did resolve to trans- " port himself beyond the seas, *which had been* " *no hard matter to have brought to pass,* but with " whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is " not to this day discovered; *they who were in-* " *strumental in his remove, pretending to know* " *nothing of the resolution, or counsel.* But, *one* " *morning, being the eleventh of November, the* " *king having, the night before, pretended some* " *indisposition, and that he would go to his rest,* " *they who went into his chamber, found that he* " *was not there, nor had been in his bed that night.* " There were two or three letters found upon his " table, writ all with his own hand, one to the " parliament, another to the general; in which " he declared 'the reason of his remove to be, " 'an apprehension that some desperate persons " 'had a design to assassinate him; and therefore " 'he had withdrawn himself with a purpose of " 'remaining concealed, until the parliament had " 'agreed upon such propositions as should be " 'fit for him to consent to; and he would then " 'appear, and willingly consent to anything that " 'should be for the peace and happiness of the " 'kingdom.' There were discovered the treading " of horses at a back-door of the garden into which " his majesty had a passage out of his chamber; " and it is true that way he went, having appointed " his horse to be there ready at an hour, and sir " John Berkley, Ashburnham, and Legg, to wait

" upon him, the two last being of his bedchamber. " *Ashburnham alone seemed to know what they* " *were do, the other two having received only orders* " *to attend.* When they were free from the appre- " hension of the guards, and the horse-quarters, " they rode towards the south-west, and towards " that part of Hampshire which led to the New " Forest. *The king asked Ashburnham, where the* " *ship lay?* which made the other two conclude " that the king resolved to transport himself. " *After they had made some stay in that part next* " *the sea, and Ashburnham had been some time* " *absent, he returned without any news of the ship;* " *with which the king seemed troubled.* Upon this " disappointment, the king thought it best, for " avoiding all high-ways, to go to Tichfield, a " noble seat of the earl of Southampton's, (who " was not there,) but inhabited by the old lady " his mother with a small family, which made the " retreat the more convenient: there his majesty " alighted, and would speak with the lady; to " whom he made no scruple of communicating " himself, well knowing her to be a lady of that " honour and spirit, that she was superior to all " kind of temptation. There he refreshed himself, " *and consulted with his three servants, what he* " *should next do, since there was neither ship ready,* " nor could they presume that they could remain " long there undiscovered.

" *In this debate, the Isle of Wight came to be* " *mentioned (as they say) by Ashburnham,* as a " place where his majesty might securely repose " himself, until he thought fit to inform the parlia-

" ment where he was. Colonel Hammond was " governor there, an officer of the army, and of " nearest trust with Cromwell, having by his ad- " vice been married to a daughter of John Hamb- " den, whose memory he always adored; yet, by " some fatal mistake, this man was thought a " person of honour and generosity enough to trust " the king's person to, and Ashburnham and " Berkley, were sent to him with orders, ' first to " ' be sure, that the men would faithfully promise " ' not to deliver his majesty up, though the par- " ' liament or army should require him; but to " ' give him his liberty to shift for himself, if he " ' were not able to defend him: and except he " ' would make that promise, they should not let " ' him know where his majesty was, but should " ' return presently to him.' With this commis- " sion they two crossed the water to the Isle of " Wight, the king in the mean time reposing " himself at Tichfield. The next day they found " colonel Hammond, *who was known to them both*, " who had conversation with him in the army, " when the king was well treated there, (and " their persons had been very civilly treated by " most of the officers, who thought themselves " qualified sufficiently for court preferments.) *They* " *told him*, ' that the king was withdrawn from " ' the army;' of which he seemed to have had " no notice, and to be very much surprised with it. " They then said, ' that the king had so good an " ' opinion of him, knowing him to be a gentleman, " ' and for his relation to Dr. Hammond, (whose " ' nephew he was,) that he would trust his person

" 'with him, and would from thence write to the " 'parliament, if he would promise that if his mes- " 'sage had not that effect which he hoped it " 'would have, he would leave him to himself to " 'go whither he thought fit, and would not de- " 'liver him to the parliament, or army, if they " 'should require it.' His answer was, 'that he " 'would pay all the duty and service to his ma- " 'jesty that was in his power; and, if he pleased " 'to come thither, he would receive and enter- " 'tain him as well as he could; but that he was " 'an inferior officer, and must obey his superiors " 'in whatsoever they thought fit to command " 'him:' with which when he saw they were not " satisfied, he asked, 'where the king was?' to " which they made no other answer, 'but that they " 'would acquaint his majesty with his answer, " 'and, if he were satisfied with it, they would re- " 'turn to him again.' *He demanded 'that Mr.* " *'Ashburnham would stay with him, and that the* " *'other might go to the king;'* which Mr. Ash- " burnham refused to do.

" After sometime spent in debate, in which he " made many expressions of his desire to do any " service to his majesty, they were contented that " he should go with them; and Ashburnham said, " 'he would conduct him to the place where the " 'king was;' and so, he commanding *three or* " *four servants or soldiers to wait on him,* they " went together to Tichfield; and, the other staying " below, Ashburnham went up to the king's " chamber. When he had acquainted him with " all that had passed, and that Hammond was in

" the house, his majesty broke out in a passionate " exclamation, and said, ' Oh Jack, thou hast un- " ' done me!' with which the other falling into a " great passion of weeping, offered to go down, " and to kill Hammond: to which his majesty " would not consent; and, after some pausing, " and deliberation, sent for him up, and endea- " voured to persuade him to make the same pro- " mise, which had before been proposed: to which " he made the same answer he had done, but " with many professions of doing all the offices " he could for his majesty; and seemed to believe " that the army would do well for him. The king " believed that there was now no possible way to " get from him, *he having the command of the* " *country, and could call in what help he would;* " and so went with him into the Isle of Wight, " and was lodged at Carisbrook Castle, at first " with all demonstration of respect and duty.

" It never appeared afterwards that the king was " maliciously betrayed to this unhappy peregrina- " tion, by the treachery and practice of those he " trusted; and his majesty himself never enter- " tained the least jealousy, or suspicion of it: *yet* " *the whole design appeared to be so weakly con-* " *trived, the not being sure of a ship, if the re-* " *solution were fixed for embarking, which was* " *never manifest,* the making choice of the Isle of " Wight, *and of Hammond to be trusted, since* " *nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably* " *foreseen and expected,* and the bringing him to " Tichfield, without the permission of the king, if " not directly contrary to it, seemed to be all so

" far from a rational design, and conduct that " most men did believe there was treason in the " contrivance, or that his majesty entrusted those " who were grossly imposed upon and deceived " by his greatest enemies. Legg had had so ge- " neral a reputation of integrity, and fidelity to " his master, that he never fell under the least im- " putation or reproach with any man: he was a " very punctual and steady observer of the orders " he received, but no contriver of them; and " though he had in truth a better judgment and " understanding than either of the other two, his " modesty and diffidence of himself never suf- " fered him to contrive bold councils. Berkley " was less known among those persons of honour " and quality who had followed the king, being in " a very private station before the war, and his " post in it being in the farthest corner of the king- " dom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, " when he was not beholden to reports; ambition " and vanity were well known to be predominant " in him, and that he had great confidence in him- " self, and did not delight to converse with those " who had not; but he never fell under any blemish " of disloyalty, and he took care to publish that " this enterprise of the king's was so totally without " his privity, that he was required to attend on " horseback at such an hour, *and had not the least* " *intimation of his majesty's purpose what he in-* " *tended to do.* Another particular, which was " acknowledged by Hammond, did him much " credit *that when Hammond demanded that Ash-* " *burnham should remain with him whilst the other*

" *went to the king, which Ashburnham refused to*
" *do, Berkley did offer himself to remain with him*
" whilst Ashburnham should attend his majesty;
" so that the whole weight of the prejudice and
" reproach was cast upon Ashburnham; who was
" known to have so great an interest in the affec-
" tions of his majesty, and so great an influence
" upon his counsels and resolutions, that he could
" not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

" *The not having a ship ready, if it were intended,*
" *was unexcusable;* and the putting the king into
" Hammond's hands without his leave, could never
" be wiped out. There were some who said, that
" Ashburnham resolved that the king should go
" to the Isle of Wight, before he left Hampton
" Court; and the lord Langdale often said, ' that
" ' being in Mr. Ashburnham's chamber at that
" ' time, he had the curiosity, whilst the other
" ' went out of the room, to look upon a paper
" ' that lay upon the table; in which was writ,
" ' that it would be best for the king to withdraw
" ' from the army, where he was in such danger;
" ' and that the Isle of Wight would be a good re-
" ' treat, where colonel Hammond commanded;
" ' who was a very honest man.' And this was
" some days before his majesty removed. And
" then it was observed, that Hammond himself
" left the army but two or three days before the
" king's remove, and went to the Isle of Wight *at*
" *a season when there was no visible occasion to*
" *draw him thither,* and when the agitators in the
" army were at highest; and it was looked upon
" with the more wonder, because *Ashburnham was*

" *not afterwards called in question for being in-*
" *strumental in the king's going away, but lived*
" *unquestioned long after in the sight of the par-*
" *liament, and in conversation with some of the*
" *officers of the army who had most deceived him;*
" *and which was more censured than all the rest,*
" *that after the murder of the king he compounded,*
" *as was reported, at an easy rate, and lived at*
" *ease, and grew rich, for many years together*
" *without interruption.*

" On the other hand, he preserved his reputation
" and credit with the most eminent of the king's
" party; *and his remaining in England was upon*
" *the marriage of a lady by whom he had a great*
" *fortune, and many conveniences; which would*
" *have been seized by his leaving the kingdom*; and
" he did send over to the king, and had leave to
" stay there; and sometimes supplied the king
" with considerable sums of money. Afterwards
" he was committed to the tower by Cromwell,
" where he remained till his death; and the king
" was known to have had, to the last, a clear
" opinion of his affection and integrity; and
" when king Charles II. returned, most of those
" of greatest reputation, as the marquis of Hert-
" ford, and the earl of Southampton, gave him a
" good testimony; yet then the old discourses
" were revived, and major Huntington did affirm,
" 'that Mr. Ashburnham did intend the king
" 'should go to the Isle of Wight, before he left
" 'Hampton Court.' Many who did not believe
" him to be corrupted, did still think that Crom-
" well and Ireton had overwitted him, and per-

" suaded him, upon great promises, that it should " prove for his majesty's benefit, and that they " should the sooner do his business, that he should " withdraw from the army, and put himself into " Hammond's hands; *for if in truth transportation* " *had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a* " *ship would not have been provided.*

" Sir John Berkley, who, shortly after the king's " being in the Isle of Wight, had transported him- " self into France, and remained still with the " duke of York to the time of king Charles the " second's return, and Mr. Ashburnham, who " continued in England, and so the more liable " to reproach, had been so solicitous to wipe off " the aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, " that they had it in care to preserve the repu- " tation of a joint innocence; but whilst each " endeavoured to clear himself, he objected or " imputed somewhat to the other, that made him " liable to just censure; and, in this contention, " their friends mentioned their several discourses " so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and " reputation of him whom they loved best, *that* " *they contracted a very avowed animosity against* " *each other;* insomuch as it was generally believed " upon the king's return, that they would, with " some fierceness, have expostulated with each " other in that way which angry men choose to " determine the right, or that both of them would " have desired the king to have caused the whole " to be so strictly examined, that the world might " have discerned, where the faults or oversights " had been, if no worse could have been charged

" upon them: but they applied themselves to " neither of those expedients, and lived only as " men who took no delight in each other's con- " versation, and who did not desire to cherish any " familiarity together. And the king, who was " satisfied that there had been no treasonable con- " trivance, (from which his father had absolved " them,) did not think it fit, upon such a subject, " to make strict inquisition into inadvertencies, " indiscretions, and presumptions, which could " not have been punished proportionally.

" It is true that they both writ apologies, or " narrations of all that had passed in that affair, " which they made not public, but gave in writing " to such of their friends in whose opinions they " most desired to be absolved, *without any inclina-* " *tion that one should see what the other had writ;* " in which, though there were several reflections " upon each other, and differences in occurrences " of less moment, there was nothing in either that " seemed to doubt of the integrity of the other; " nor any clear relation of any probable induce- " ment that prevailed with the king to undertake " that journey. *I have read both their relations,* " *and conferred with both of them at large, to dis-* " *cover in truth what the motives might be which* " *led to so fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to* " *deliver my own opinion, I should declare that* " *neither of them were,* in any degree, corrupted in " their loyalty or affection to the king, or suborned " to gratify any persons with a disservice to their " master. They were both of them great opi- " niators, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by

" any thing they had not thought of before; and
" exceedingly undervalued each other's under-
" standing; but, as it usually falls out in men of
" that kind of composition and talent, they were
" both disposed to communicate more freely with,
" and, consequently, to be advised by new ac-
" quaintance, and men they had lately begun to
" know, than old friends, and such whose judg-
" ments they could not but esteem; who they had
" no mind should go sharers with them in the merit
" of any notable service which they thought them-
" selves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole
" managery of the king's business, from the time
" that they came into the army, they never con-
" versed with the same persons; but governed
" themselves by what they received from those
" whose correspondence they had chosen. Ash-
" burnham seemed wholly to rely upon Cromwell
" and Ireton; and rather upon what they said to
" others than to himself. For besides outward
" civilities, which they both exercised towards
" him more than to other men, they seldom held
" private discourse with him, persuading him,
" 'that it was better for both their ends, in respect
" 'of the jealousy the parliament had of them,
" 'that they should understand each other's mind,
" 'as to the transaction of any particulars, from
" 'third persons mutually instrusted between them,
" 'than from frequent consultations together;' and
" sir Edward Ford, who had married Ireton's
" sister, but had been himself an officer in the
" king's army from the beginning of the war, and
" a gentleman of good meaning, though not able

" to fathom the reserved and dark designs of his " brother-in-law, was trusted to pass between " them, with some other officers of the army, who " had given Ashburnham reason to believe that " they had honest purposes.

" Berkley had not found that respect, from " Cromwell and Ireton, that he expected; at least " discerned it to be greater towards Ashburn- " ham, than it was to him; which he thought evi- " dence enough of a defect of judgment in them; " and therefore had applied himself to others, who " had not so great names, but greater interest, as " he thought, in the soldiers. His chief confidence " was in doctor Staines, who, though a doctor in " physic, was quarter-master-general of the army; " and one Watson, who was scout-master-general " of the army; both of the council of war, both " in good credit with Cromwell, and both notable " fanatics, and professed enemies to the Scots and " the presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both per- " mitted and instructed to caress sir John Berk- " ley, and, by admiring his wisdom and conduct, " to oblige him to depend on theirs; and dissimu- " lation had so great and supreme an influence " on the hearts and spirits of all those who were " trusted and employed by Cromwell, that no " man was safe in their company, but he who re- " solved before, not to believe one word they said. " These two persons knew well how to humour " sir John Berkley, who believed them the more, " because they seemed very much to blame Ire- " ton's stubborness towards the king, and to fear " that he often prevailed upon Cromwell against

" his own inclinations: they informed him, of " many particulars which passed in the council of " officers, and sometimes of advice from Cromwell, " that was clean contrary to what the king received " by Ashburnham as his opinion, and which was " found afterwards to be true, (as it may be the " other was too,) which exceedingly confirmed sir " John in the good opinion he had of his two " friends. They were the first who positively ad- " vertised the king by him, that Cromwell would " never do him service; and the first who seemed " to apprehend that the king's person was in " danger, and that there was some secret design " upon his life.

" *I do not believe that sir John Berkley knew* " *any thing of the king's purpose in his intended* " *escape, or whither he resolved to go,* or, indeed, " more of it than that he resolved at such an " hour, and in such a place, to take horse, and " was himself required to attend him; *nor do I,* " *in truth, think that the king himself, when he took* " *horse, resolved whither to go.* Some think he " meant to go into the city; others, that he in- " tended for Jersey; and that was the ground of " the *question to Mr. Ashburnham,* ' where is the " ' ship?' *Certain it is that the king never thought* " *of going to the Isle of Wight.* I am not sure that " Mr. Ashburnham, who had not yet given over " all hope of the chief officers of the army, and " believed the alterations, which had fallen out, " proceeded from the barbarity of the agitators, " and the levelling party, had not the Isle of " Wight in his view from the beginning, that is,

" from the time his majesty thought it necessary " to make an escape from the army. *It had been* " *a difficult task to go about to dissuade the king* " *from an apprehension of his own safety, when it* " *was much more natural to fear an assassination,* " *than to apprehend any thing that they did after-* " *wards do.* Mr. Ashburnham had so great a " detestation of the Scots, that he expected no " good from their fraternity, the presbyterians of " the city; *and did really believe that if his ma-* " *jesty should put himself into their hands, as was* " *advised by many, with a purpose that he should* " *be there concealed, till some favourable conjunc-* " *ture should offer itself,* (for nobody imagined " that, upon his arrival there, the city would have " declared for him, and have entered into a con- " test with that army which had so lately subdued " them,) *the security of such an escape was not to* " *be relied on, and very earnestly dissuaded his* " *master from entertaining the thought of it;* and " this opinion of his was universally known, and, " as hath been said before, was an ingredient into " the composition of that civility and kindness " the officers of the army had for him. They " did, to him, frequently lament the levelling " spirit that was gotten into the soldiers, which " they foresaw in the future would be as incon- " venient and mischievous to themselves, as it " was, for the present, dangerous to the person of " the king; which they seemed wonderfully to " apprehend, and protested ' that they knew not " ' how to apply any remedy to it, whilst his ma- " ' jesty was in the army; but that they would

" 'quickly correct or subdue it, if the king were
" 'at any distance from them;' and it is not im-
" possible, that, in such discourses, somebody who
" was trusted by them, if not one of themselves,
" might mention the Isle of Wight as a good
" place to retire to, and colonel Hammond as a
" man of good intentions; *the minutes of which*
" *discourse Mr. Ashburnham might keep by him:*
" for the lord Langdale's relation of such a paper,
" which he himself saw, and read, cannot be
" thought by me to be a mere fiction; to which,
" besides that he was a person of unblemished
" honour and veracity, he had not any tempta-
" tion: *yet Mr. Ashburnham did constantly deny*
" *that he ever saw any such paper, or had any*
" *thought of the Isle of Wight when the king left*
" *Hampton Court*, and he never gave cause, in the
" subsequent actions of his life, to have his fide-
" lity suspected. And it is probable, that Crom-
" well, who many years afterwards committed
" him to the tower, *and did hate him, and desired*
" *to have taken his life, would have been glad to*
" *have blasted his reputation, by declaring that he*
" *had carried his master to the Isle of Wight,*
" *without his privity, upon his own presumption;*
" which, how well soever intended, must have
" been looked upon by all men as such a trans-
" cendent crime, as must have deprived him of all
" compassion for the worst that could befall him."

I.

"But, one morning, being the 11th of November,* "the king having, the night before, pretended some "indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, "they who went into his chamber, found, that he "was not there, nor had been in his bed that "night. There were two or three letters found "upon his table, writ all with his own hand, one "to the parliament, another to the general."†

If there were here simply the error of a date, the mere inadvertency of stating that to have happened on one day, which really occurred on

* According to the last Oxford Edition this—"being the 11th "of November"—is in the original Manuscript,—"about the "beginning of September."!!!

† A third letter was addressed to colonel Whalley. It begins thus—"Col. Whalley I have been so civilly used by you, and "Major Huntington, that I cannot but by this parting farewell "acknowledge it under my hand," &c. &c. and it concludes thus "—So being confident, that you wish my preservation and re-"stitution, I rest your friend—Charles R." It is very possible that the king may have greatly over-rated the sincerity of Whalley's good wishes; but it seems quite impossible, that he should have written in these terms to him, if he had been such as lord Clarendon describes him—"A man of a rough and brutal tem-"per, who offered great violence to his nature, when he appeared "to exercise any civility and good manners." If so, the gaoler in point of restraint must have had a worse time of it than his prisoner.

the next, might well be suffered to pass unnoticed. But not so, when intimately, if not inseparably, blended, as it is, with matter of fact imperiously demanding investigation. The king's escape from Hampton Court, so far from having been discovered on the morning of the 11th, was not effected till the evening of that day. The point however, which in this enquiry it is most essentially important to establish, is, what was the interval from the time when the escape was effected to that when it was discovered? Inasmuch as the result will afford a criterion, by which the credibility of lord Clarendon's relation, in many of its subsequent particulars, may be fairly estimated.

That the king during his confinement at Hampton Court was not more vigilantly guarded than the safe custody of his person had been calculated to require, the subject under discussion sufficiently proves. In the treatment of him that at least the outward forms of respect and the customary usages of decorum were not unobserved; that his hours of privacy were not wantonly invaded; and that the attendance of his own domestics had not as yet been interdicted, all accounts agree. Lord Clarendon's is in the following words:—"In the "mean time, they neither hindered his majesty "from riding abroad to take the air, nor from "doing any thing he had a mind to, *nor restrained* "*those who waited upon him in his bedchamber.*" These therefore must have been "*they, who went* "*into his chamber on the morning of the* 11*th of* "*November,*" which they were not likely to do

before sunrise: and as little likely, when they "*found, that he was not there,*" to be in haste to give the alarm, and to raise a hue and cry after the royal fugitive. And further if they "*found, that "he had not been in his bed that night,*" the natural inference is, that he must have escaped at the close of the preceding evening. Considering therefore the length of days at that season of the year, the king, according to lord Clarendon, could not have had the start of all pursuers by less than ten or twelve hours.

It is therefore, "with great appearance of truth," that we are told afterwards, that—"*after they "had made some stay in that part next the sea, "and Ashburnham had been some time absent*" &c. —"*the king thought it best for avoiding all "highways to go to Tichfield, a noble seat of the "earl of Southampton's,*" &c. that "*he there re-"freshed himself: and consulted with his three "servants, what he should next do.*"

Some time and *some* stay are indefinite terms; but usually, if not invariably, signifying no short time or stay. And after having rode all night, and a part of the next day, it must have required some time further for the king to "refresh himself" before he consulted with his "three servants, what "he should next do." Now the aggregate (for it would be hazardous to use the more familiar term, sum-total) of all these "somes" must be calculated at a very considerable amount. Not however more than might be well afforded out of the very liberal allowance, which lord Clarendon has providently taken care to supply; a period of

about twelve hours. And that the fugitives had time enough and to spare, is manifest from their having been so unboundedly lavish of it. Nothing therefore can be more satisfactory than the whole of this account: wherein the first part and the last, the causes and the effects, reciprocally prove each other, like rules of arithmetic.

——— " Servatur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto ;———et sibi constat."

But it is with itself alone that this account is consistent, being irreconcileably at variance with all others. Whitelock tells a very different story.

" *November* 11. *This night* news came of the " king's departure from Hampton Court."

" *November* 12. Letters from lieutenant general " Cromwell, to the house, of the king's going " away. That the commissioners and Col. Whaly " *missing him at supper* went into his chamber, " and found him gone; leaving his cloak in the " gallery, and some letters of his own hand-writing " upon the table."

This is confirmed by Rushworth thus—" No- " vember 11. *This night* came the unexpected " news of his majesty escape from Hampton Court. " *About nine of the clock* the officers, who attended " him, wondered he came not forth of his chamber, " went in, and missed him *within half an hour* " *after his departure.*"

It is to be remembered, that, while these two plodding Journalists* were noting down the pass-

* Whitelock and Rushworth, probably without intended, or conscious, deference to Seneca, were more careful as to what

ing events day by day, as they occurred, the noble and classical Historian of the Rebellion was either in Jersey or in France; having quitted England three years before, and not having returned till nearly twelve years after, the time of this transaction. But as the preference given on these grounds to the united testimonies of the former may be disallowed by some, recourse shall be had to documents, which, all must admit to be of paramount authority:—the Journals of the two Houses of Parliament.

"Lord's Journals" Die Veneris 12 Novembris.

"The lord Montague acquainted the house, "that the king escaped *last night* from Hampton "Court: and these papers were found in his "chamber. Letter to lord Montague; letter to "the speaker of the house of commons; and letter "to colonel Whaly."

All which letters are dated *the* 11*th November*.

"Commons Journals" Die Veneris 12th November.

"A letter from lieutenant-general Cromwell of

they wrote, than as to how they wrote. On the contrary, lord Clarendon is evidently not so much influenced by the precept* of the moralist, as by the example of the historians of antiquity, who certainly attended as much to elegance of style, as to accuracy of statement. Among these Livy seems to have been his favourite, if not his model. In so far at least, as from his having adopted the Patavinian practice of giving a flavour to the insipidity of matter of fact by a few spices of the marvellous and preternatural.

* Quære quid scribas; non quemadmodum ..... Cujuscumque orationem videris solicitam et politam, scito *animum quoque non minus esse pusillis occupatum*. Senec. Epist. 115.

"*Nov.* 11, *twelve at night,* was read; signifying "the king's escape; who went away *about nine* "*of the clock yesterday evening.*"

Here then are incontrovertible proofs that instead of many hours, not a single hour elapsed between the king's escape and the discovery of it. Another fact will now be demonstrated, in its application not less important than the former; that the king and his attendants at the moment of their departure must have known that the chance of longer concealment was absolutely hopeless.

Colonel Whalley in his letter to the speaker of the house of commons writes—"and as for the "manner, Mr. Speaker, of the king's going away, "it was thus. Mondayes and Thursdayes were "the king's set dayes for his writing letters, to be "sent into forreigne parts. His usual time for "coming out of his bedchamber on those dayes "was betwixt five and six of the clock. Presently "after he went to prayers. And about half an "houre after that to supper: at which times I set "guards about his bedchamber. Because he made "no long stay after supper before he retired him-"self thither."

"About *five of the clock,* I came into the room "next his bedchamber; where I found the Com-"missioners and bedchamber men. I asked them "for the king: they told me, he was writing let-"ters in his bedchamber. I waited without mis-"trust till six of the clock; I then began to "doubt, &c."*

* The following account is taken from a newspaper of that time, entitled "the Moderate Intelligencer," from Thursday

Such having been Whalley's—

———" Custom always of the afternoon,"

the king could not but have been aware that, as the attempt was impracticable till after sunset, his absence must be discovered as soon as he had withdrawn himself. But it is to be remarked, that his majesty throughout the whole transaction is

Nov. 11, to Thursday November 18, 1647. " *Nov.* 11.—*This* " *day* will be famous in after times because *towards the end of it* " his majesty escapt a kind of restraint; under which he was " at Hamptoh Court: and according to the best relation, thus: " —He, as was usual, went to be private a little before evening " prayer; staying somewhat longer than usual, it was taken " notice of; yet at first without suspicion; but he not coming " forth suddenly, there were fears, which encreased by the " crying of a greyhound* again and again within; and upon " search it was found the king was gone; and by the way of " Paradise, a place so called in the garden; in probability *sud-* " *denly after his going in, and about twilight.* He left a paper " to the parliament, another to the commissioners, and a third " to colonel Whalley."

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* A postscript to the last of these letters concludes thus—

" I had almost forgot to desire you to send the black grew " bitch to the duke of Richmond."

Sir Philip Warwick has noticed the king's preference of greyhounds to spaniels; and his majesty's reason for it.

" Methinks because it shews his disesteem of a common " court vice, it is not unworthy the relating of him; that one " evening his dog scraping at his door, he commanded me to " let in Gipsey: whereupon I took the boldness to say, Sir, I " perceive you love a greyhound better than you do a spaniel;— " Yes, (he replied) for they equally love their masters; and yet " do not flatter them so much."

Sir P. W's. Memoires of the Reign of King Charles the First, page 329.

represented as scarcely having had even "voix en "chapitre," While those, who advised, planned, and contrived, what lord Clarendon elsewhere calls "this so precious affair," are made to appear so utterly devoid of common prudence, that the greater the folly, the more likely they were to commit it; the more obvious the danger, the more likely to precipitate their royal master into it. Vain however as would be the attempt to argue, that lord Clarendon's account is improbable; it may not be equally so, to prove that it is untrue. Clarendon Papers.

When between two statements of the same transaction there is the most perfect and entire concordance, as to all essential points, with just enough of trifling variation in detail, as to bear internal evidence of their not having been written in concert, they have a fair claim to consideration. But when it is known, as it here is of Berkeley and Ashburnham, on the unquestionable authority of lord Clarendon, that the respective authors "had "contracted a very avowed animosity against each "other;" and that "there was no inclination, that "one should see what the other had writ;" that, "while each endeavoured to clear himself, he ob-"jected or imputed somewhat to the other, that "made him liable to just censure;" surely such documents are so far entitled to unqualified credit.

As in the course of this discussion frequent reference to Ashburnham's Narrative must necessarily occur, it is expedient here to premise, that there is no wish to obtain the admission of any fact, resting solely on his authority; no desire,

that any credit should be conceded, which can in reason be witheld: all, that is hoped, being, that the testimonies of others may not be invalidated by his concurrence.

II.

(a) "Ashburnham *alone* seemed to know what they "were to do, the other two having received *only* "*orders to attend.*"

"He (Berkley) took care to publish that this "enterprize of the king's was *so totally* without "his privity, that he was required to attend on (b) "horseback at such an hour, and had *not the* "*least* intimation of his majesty's purpose what "he intended to do."

"I do not believe that sir John Berkley knew "*any thing* of the king's purpose in his intended "escape, or whither he resolved to go, or, indeed, (c) "more of it than that he resolved at such an "hour, and in such a place, to take horse, and was "himself required to attend him."

(d) "Nor do *I*, in truth think that *the king him-* "*self*, when he took horse, *resolved whither to go.*"

While analysing this most elaborately compounded portion of the whole history of the Rebellion, the following questions are neither frivolous, nor impertinent; however obvious the answers to them may be.

1. To whom did Ashburnham *alone seem* to know what they were to do?—To Berkeley and Legge. And to them only: for at the performance of this scene none but the actors could have been present.

2. When assembled "*what were they to do*,"—but to ride off as fast as they could?

3. How or in what way could Ashburnham's sole and exclusive knowledge, of what they were to do, have betrayed itself; but by this then taking the lead?

To all the readers of Clarendon's History, for more than a century past, Ashburnham alone, of the king's three attendants, must seem to have been at this juncture about his majesty's person; and the only inmate of the palace:—"*the other* "*two* having received only orders to attend on "horseback at such an hour and in such a place." This implied fact,* even without the notoriety of Ashburnham's having been at all times honoured above his colleagues with a distinguished share of the royal confidence, might in itself suffice to accredit the assertion of his having been *alone* cognizant of their common destination. It is one therefore, which it is most important to ascertain: and, happily, not less easy. In sir John Berkeley's Memoir, which every one, who consults it, will (a)

* Such it has been considered by Rapin, who says distinctly —"The king came with Ashburnham to the garden gate where "Berkeley waited with the horses."

find to be such as lord Clarendon has described it; written for the purpose of "clearing himself, "by objecting or imputing somewhat to the other, "that made him liable to just censure;" we read—

"I had been now absent *three weeks* removed "from the king; and about a *fortnight after me* "*Mr. Ashburnham:* Mr. Legge still remained with "his majesty and waited in his bedchamber, &c."

"I went the Tuesday night after to Hampton "Court privately being introduced a back way by "Mr. Leg."

"On the Wednesday we had orders to send "spare horses to Sutton in Hampshire; and the "Thursday after his majesty *with Will. Leg* "came out at the closing of the evening, and im- "mediately went to Oatlands, and so through the "forest: where *his majesty was our guide.*"

Ashburnham's account, (after having by the king's command withdrawn his parole) is—"For "that cause, and for the plain language, that I "used to Cromwell at my last being with him, I "was the *next day dismissed from my attendance* "*upon the king*," &c.

"Not many days after, Mr. Leg came to me "from his majesty. For *he only* was permitted "to continue still near him."

If any doubt can possibly remain of the truth, which these two adversaries unite in establishing, it will effectually be removed by again having recourse to colonel Whalley's letter to the speaker—

—"But for some fifteen weeks I had Mr. "Ashburnham's engagement for the king's safe "abiding with me. And truly I must do him so

"much right as to declare, that he dealt honestly "and like a gentleman with me. For about *three* "*weeks* ago he came to me, and minded me of his "engagement, which was to continue no longer "than he gave me warning; which, he told me, "he now did."—He after mentions colonel Legge, as the *only remaining attendant* on the king, who had not been put about his majesty's person by the parliament. And lastly that Legge went away on "Thursday morning."*

(b) If Berkeley took care to publish that this enterprize was totally without his privity; and that he had *not* the *least intimation* of what the king intended to do; he shewed that sometimes they, who are not "great wits have short memories."

(c) If lord Clarendon believed that Berkeley knew nothing more of the king's purpose than that at such an hour and in such a place he had resolved to take horse, he must have either disbelieved, or forgotten, what he had read in sir John's Memoir; which, he says, was not made public; but which he himself read, and conferred upon with the writer at large.

From that work the following passages may be not unfairly extracted.—"About eight or ten days

* This is not inconsistent with Berkeley's saying that Will. Legge came out of the Palace with the king at the close of the evening. For not having been dismissed from his attendance on the king, as Berkeley and Ashburnham had been, he might be as much at liberty to return in the evening as to go away in the morning.

" before the time appointed for the drawing toge-
" ther of the army, Mr. Ashburnham invited me
" from London, and *Mr. Leg from Hampton*
" *Court*, to dine with him on Sunday at Ditton, &c.
" —*They* told me, that his majesty was really
" afraid of his life, and was resolved to make his
" escape; and that *they* had order from his ma-
" jesty to command me in his name to wait on
" his majesty in his intended escape." Sir John in reply advises, that Mr. Ashburnham should " provide *three or four ships in several* ports to be " ready in all events:" and *requires* that *he may receive the king's commands immediately from himself.*

" On *Monday*, Mr. Ashburnham and I went to
" the head quarters to desire passes to return be-
" yond the seas. He asked me, what I thought
" of his majesty's coming to London, and appear-
" ing in the House of Lords? I replied, very ill.
" He then asked me, what I thought of the Isle
" of Wight? I replied, better than of London,
" though I knew nothing of it, nor who was go-
" vernor. I then asked him why his majesty would
" not make his retreat secure by quitting the king-
" dom? He replied, not for two reasons.*

" I went the Tuesday night after to Hampton
" Court privately being introduced a back way
" by *Mr. Leg*. The king told me he was afraid
" of his life, and that he would have me assist in
" person in his escape. I asked, which way his

* The one being the policy of waiting till the rendezvous of the army was over, the other, that of waiting till the treaty with the Scots was concluded.

" majesty would go? His majesty replied, that " *both Mr. Ashburnham*, who was present, and I " should *know that by Will. Leg.* On the wed- " nesday *we* had orders to send spare horses to " Sutton in Hampshire. And the Thursday after " his majesty with Will. Legg came out," &c. &c.

From these extracts the following conclusions may be drawn.

1st. That Berkeley has avowed a knowledge which lord Clarendon (b) states him to have publicly denied.

2d. That he has shewn, that he knew more than lord Clarendon (c) believes him to have known.

3d. That he must of necessity have known more than it has been his purpose to disclose.

Of which latter the evidences are these—

1st. The admission that Ashburnham consulted him as to the scheme of the king's going to London; which met with his decided disapprobation.

2d. That he himself suggested the king's escaping out of the kingdom; to which Ashburnham objected, assigning his reasons.

3d. That when Ashburnham afterwards asked him what he thought of the Isle of Wight? He replied " better than of London." Thus of three plans the two first were instantly and decisively rejected: while to the last no objection was made. For sir John's knowing nothing of the Island, or of the governor, might be reason enough for his not going there; but certainly was none, why the king, or any one else should not go there: and further, why he should not of himself recommend

the measure, but not why he should refuse his concurrence at the recommendation of another.

4th. That he received orders to send a relay of horses to Sutton in Hampshire. Now however modestly sir John may speak of his topographical acquirements, he surely cannot mean to disclaim the knowledge, that Hampshire is a maritime country, and that from its shore—

> " Est in conspectu——notissima famâ
> " Insula:

It therefore seems incredible that this order of the king's should not have reminded him of his consultation with Ashburnham; in which, of the three places proposed, the Isle of Wight was the only one, to which no exception was offered.

Berkeley indeed is not one of those writers, of whose facts a true understanding and right judgment are likely to be elicited by a too rigorously critical acceptation of his words. Yet it may be observed of one, that it is perhaps more fully and precisely expressive than it may have been designed. " We *continued* our way towards South-" ampton." The way that was *continued* at Sutton had been begun at Hampton Court. If then he was aware of the former, it is probable that he was not unconscious of the latter.

Nor are these the only indications which transpire of Berkeley's having been really, more than he would fain have been considered, in the secret. On being apprized by Legge and Ashburnham of the king's commands to attend him, he requires, " that he may receive those commands imme-" diately from the king himself." Thus evincing

a spirit highly creditable both to his character, and to lord Clarendon's delineation of it. On being in consequence of this requisition "pri-"vately introduced by Mr. Legge," and in answer to his enquiry "which way his majesty would "go?" The king tells him that "both he and "Ashburnham, who was present, should know "that *by Will. Leg.*" Now an appeal may here be confidently made to every reader of Berkeley's Memoir, whether there be not throughout internal evidence, even to conviction, that Berkeley would not only have noticed the omission, if such there had been, but that he would have ascribed it to Ashburnham's intolerant jealousy, overweening arrogance, and abused ascendancy. He allows, that the next day he received orders from the king to send forward horses to Sutton, and that these orders were delivered by "*Will. Leg.*" On which no observation is made. Is it not most probable therefore that he then learnt something more on the subject? If not,—is it not certain, that not only colonel Legge, but Berkeley himself, and the king too, must have understood this order as an implied virtual notification, according to promise, of his majesty's decision?

Ashburnham in his Narrative affirms that when he proposed the Isle of Wight, Berkeley fully assented. The difference in the two statements therefore is only in the degree; that is, between assenting and not dissenting; the latter answering the present purpose quite as well as the former;

because it equally proves Berkeley's knowledge of the proposition.

They both speak but of *one* interview with the king; and each mentions, that the other, as well as Legge, was present; with this difference, that Berkeley dates it on the Tuesday, and Ashburnham on the Wednesday. When all the circumstances and the relative situations of the parties are considered, it must be admitted, that although one interview had been successfully contrived, to have attempted a second would have been hazardous. Nor can it reasonably be conceived, that there was any other channel of communication between the king and Ashburnham than that of colonel Legge; whom Whalley distinctly notices, as well as Berkeley and Ashburnham, as "being "the only remaining attendant on the king, who "had not been put about his majesty's person by "the parliament." So far then from "Ashburn-"ham *alone* seeming to know what they were to "do," it is clear, that he knew no more, than what was equally known to the other two attendants, as to "what they were to do;" or more correctly, where they were to go.

Not inconsistently with the disclaimer of all intention to rest one particle of this Vindication on the sole authority of Ashburnham's Narrative, the following extract may be subjoined, though most materially differing from Berkeley's statement. At that *one* audience, which he with Berkeley in the presence of Legge had of the king, he says, that on his having enquired of his majesty "whither

" he had resolved to go?"—the king told *us* that he " had had some thoughts of going out of the " kingdom; but, for the shortness of the time to " prepare a vessel to transport him, and for the " other reasons I had *sent* him by *Mr. Legge*, he " was *resolved* to go to the *Isle of Wight*. And, " the manner of his escape being then agreed on, " we left him; and the next night he performed " his part, and we ours." As some readers may be disposed to weigh against each other these contradictory statements, with a view to determine, which is the more worthy of credit, it will perhaps not be useless to remind them, that lord Clarendon affirms, that these apologies or narrations Ashburnham and Berkeley " made not public, " but gave in writing to such of their friends in " whose opinions, they most desired to be ab- " solved."—That Legge must have been one of those in whose opinions Ashburnham would be more particularly desirous of being absolved, even if no friendship subsisted between them, is to be presumed from the noble historian's testimony, that " he had so general a reputation for integrity " and fidelity to his master, that he never fell " under the least imputation or reproach with any " man." But further, that Ashburnham might consider him to be among his friends, reasons are not wanting to induce belief. In his Narrative he mentions, that after they had been expelled from the Isle of Wight, Legge and himself continued together " waiting on the coast for nearly " a quarter of a year" in expectation of the king's being able to effect his escape from Carisbrook

Castle. This fact is more than confirmed by entries on the Journals of both Houses of Parliament: "That Mr. Ashburnham and colonel Legge "were taken and apprehended near Winchester "Park in the County of Hants on the 19th of "May:" being nearly five months from the time of their separation from their royal master. Till then a common service, both being of the bedchamber, would account for their association. Afterwards what could have been the connecting link between them but that "idem velle atque "idem nolle," the surest foundation of a true and lasting friendship? And that such was twenty years after still subsisting between them, there are grounds to infer from their having been the *only two guests*, whom Evelyn met at Clarendon House, when it was "the house of mourning." It is impossible therefore to suppose, that Ashburnham would dare to submit his Narrative to Legge's inspection, if it contained misrepresentations of occurrences, in which Legge himself was so principally engaged.

Berkeley on the contrary is far less likely to have communicated his Memoir to Legge. The former immediately, after he had been dismissed from the Isle of Wight, returned to the queen his well known Patroness.

(d) Lord Clarendon's *thinking* "that the king when "he took horse, had not resolved whither to go," appears much at variance with his stating, that "when they were free from the apprehension of "the guards, and the horse-quarters, they rode

" towards the New Forest." It proves at least that his majesty was no sooner mounted than his resolution was taken. Berkeley says " *the king* " *was their guide.*" But it matters not, whether he—

" Most like a baron bold,
" Rode foremost of the company;"

or whether he brought up the rear; since it is not pretended that he was carried away by force.

III.

" *Certain* it is that the king never thought of " going to the Isle of Wight."

If we trace back the gradation of lord Clarendon's ascent to that height of certainty, which he has now attained, we shall find him, 1st. " *think-* " *ing*," that the king at setting out from Hampton Court, was ignorant of his own destination:— 2dly. " *believing*," that Berkeley knew no more of the king's purpose, than his majesty himself; who is *thought* to have had *none*:—and 3dly. affirming, that " Ashburnham alone seemed to know what " they were to do," or more correctly, where they were to go. From these data the only deduction is, that " Ashburnham with great* appearance of " truth has been suspected of *treachery*:"—but not so of "*folly*." There is no such alternative. For that man could have been no fool, who was able to lead by the nose the king, and Legge, and

* Such is the opinion most gratuitously pronounced by W. Bray, Esq. the venerable editor of Evelyn's Memoirs, &c. in a very irrelevant note.

Berkeley, from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, as Gulliver drew by its cables the whole fleet of Blefuscu into the ports of Lilliput.

It will be found upon reference to the volume itself, (for the charge of so great a discrepancy will hardly be taken on trust,) that in the same page, lord Clarendon has annexed to this most positive assertion the following contradictory observation—"It is probable, that Cromwell, who "many years afterwards committed him (Ash-"burnham) to the tower, and did hate him, and "desired to have taken his life, would have been "glad to have blasted his reputation, by declaring "that he had *carried* his master to the Isle of "Wight, *without his privity*, upon *his own pre-"sumption:* which, how well so ever intended, "must have been looked upon by all men as "such a transcendant crime, as must have de-"prived him of all compassion for the worst that "could befall him."—Why then did he not declare it? What could have restrained him; but conviction, that the declaration was too monstrous; the fiction too grossly palpable; the idea too extravagantly absurd, to be palmed upon public credulity; even by *him*, the most successful, as the most daring, of all impostors? But could he have been aware how far the chancellor of the exchequer was disposed to countenance the notion, we may be sure, that Ashburnham would not have lived to see the restoration.

Hume is evidently not satisfied with lord Clarendon's relation of this transaction, although he has avowedly followed it. He observes, that all

other writers of that "age represent the king's "going to the Isle of Wight as voluntary and in- "tended." He also quotes the letter written to the earl of Lanerick by the king soon after his arrival in the island; in which his majesty says— "I wonder to hear, if that be true, that some of "my friends say, that my going to Jersey would "much more have furthered my personal treaty "than my coming hither: for which as I see no "colour of reason, so I had not been here, if I "had thought that fancy true; or had not been "secured of a personal treaty; of which I neither "do, nor, I hope will* repent."

In addition to the testimonies, to which Hume has referred, some documents will now be adduced from which it may appear, that "*certain* it is," that the king had not only been long predetermined in his choice of the Isle of Wight for his asylum, but of colonel Hammond as the fittest person to be entrusted with the safe-guard of his royal person: and that it is probable, that the idea of this so much censured, deplored, and exe-

* In Rushworth's Collections, vol. vii. page 941, it is said to be "certified by letters from the Isle of Wight, December 22, "1647: that the king affirms, that that was the place he first "designed, when he apprehended it not safe to continue any "longer at Hampton Court: and that if he were at liberty to "choose any place in his three kingdoms, he would not remove "thence, except to London upon a personal treaty."

Ludlow's Memoirs, page 92, "others counselled him to "secure his person by quitting the kingdom. Against which "the king objected, that the rendezvous being appointed for "the next week, he was not willing to quit the army till that "was passed."

crated measure originated in his own mind, without the suggestion, advice, or even knowledge of Ashburnham.

In Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, Art. Dr. Henry Hammond, will be found the following passage—"When king Charles was a prisoner at Hampton "Court, dr. Henry Hammond, the learned divine "before mentioned, conducted this his nephew to "his majesty, *as a penitent convert.* Which his "majesty taking well gave him his hand to kiss, "&c."—His majesty, after he had been frighted "from Hampton Court, did choose rather to put "himself into his hands for the safety of his "person, rather than any other."

Dr. Hammond is well known to have been, and most deservedly, on account of his eminent piety and learning, distinguished as the king's "favourite "chaplain." At his majesty's particular request, he had been suffered to attend upon him at Hampton Court: and therefore needed not the intervention of Ashburnham to obtain access to the royal presence, or an opportunity to introduce his nephew.

Sir John Bowring, in his "manuscript,* pre-

* Published in an octavo volume entitled a "Collection of "Private Papers," 1703.

It is repeatedly quoted by bishop Kennet in his "Life and "Reign of Charles the First."

Sir John commences his manuscript with the following account of himself.—"Being presented to the king's majesty at "Oxford, at the time of the late war, by the hands of the lord "high chamberlain Lindsey, by directions of my lord keeper "Littleton, before he died in his privy chamber at Christchurch; "in respect I was a practicable clerk at common law in the

" sented to king Charles the second," relates a conversation, which he had with the king at Sion House* on one of those occasions, when the royal captive was indulged with a sight of his beloved children, thus—" the king gave me special charge " to keep my friendship with Mr. Lisle: for, says " his majesty, I shall in a short time, for aught I " know, be in that man's power: (meaning, as I " afterwards understood, his majesty's resolution " was, suddenly to retire from Hampton Court " to the Isle of Wight;) and therefore I charge " you by the duty and respect you have for me, " and upon your allegiance, that, whatsoever you " do, you keep your interest and friendship with " Mr. Lisle. It concerns me very much, says his " majesty, and you may perchance do me the " greatest service, and be better able to perform " it than any other friend. Be secret; and I " shall sometimes send to you." Bowring afterwards, when in the Isle of Wight adds—" It was " not in the power at that time of any other per- " son living to do his majesty any good, except " they had a secret interest with Mr. Lisle.† And

" inns of court, by the ablest clerks then living; and so recom- " mended by the judges to his majesty. The king immediately " sent for Mr. Secretary Nicholas; and then gave Mr. Secretary " directions for a civil employment for me; and a warrant " for me to be sworn one of the clerks of the council extra- " ordinary."

* It appears that the king dined and passed three or four hours with his children at Sion house, August 24; and again August 30, 1647. (Whitelock, p. 267. Rushworth, p. 789, 795.)

† Whitelock's Memorials, page 286, " January 1, 1648. Di-

" this the king knew very well: because his ma-
" jesty knew, that Hammond received his orders
" from Lisle in all things, by reason Hammond
" was otherwise a stranger in the island."*

" Certain it is" therefore—not as lord Clarendon has affirmed, that previously to quitting Hampton Court " the king never thought of going " to the Isle of Wight"—but that he had at least thought, if he had not determined, on that step, not less than ten† weeks before he took it.

IV.

" The king asked Ashburnham, where *the ship* " lay? which made the other two conclude that " the king resolved to transport himself."

"After they had made some stay in that part "next the sea, and Ashburnham had been some "time absent, he returned without any news of *the* " *ship:* with which the king seemed troubled."

" The not being sure of *a ship, if the resolution*

" vers letters came from the Parliament Commissioners at the " Cowes—some related not without ground, that *Mr. William* " *Lisle* had undertaken to provide a ship for his majesty's es- " cape out of the Island."

* Commons Journals, 9th of September, 1647. " Ordered " that Mr. Bulkeley, and *Mr. Lisle*, and the rest of the gentle- " men that serve for the Isle of Wight, do go down with the " governor for the better settling him in the government of the " said Isle."

† From August 30, to November 11.

"*were fixed* for embarking, which was *never ma-*
"*nifest.*"

"The not having *a ship* ready, *if it were in-*
"*tended*, was unexcusable."

"*If* in truth transportation had been thought
"of, it is *hard to believe* that *a ship* would not
"have been provided."

"Others think, that he intended for Jersey: and
"that was the ground of his *question to Mr. Ash-*
"*burnham*, where is *the ship?*"

It is observable, that of the foregoing passages the two first, extracted from lord Clarendon's relation, are peremptory assertions of unquestionable facts; while the four last, given as comments, are hypothetical and conjectural. The latter may at first sight appear contradictory of the former, or at least inconsistent. But it will be found, that the streams, however numerous, issue from the same source; flow through parallel conduits; and discharge themselves into one common reservoir.

"The king asked Ashburnham where the ship
"lay? which made the other two *conclude* that
"the king resolved to transport himself."

A very safe conclusion. But what must they have concluded from Ashburnham's returning no answer to the king's question? For, that no answer was returned is the fair and natural inference,—1st. because if they heard the question,

they would equally have heard the answer: 2d. because the latter must have been to the full as likely to attract their attention, to impress itself on their memories, and to be thought, as interesting, and as well worth repeating, as the former.

It is true, that the answer might have been returned in a whisper; though the question had been asked aloud. But then what an astounding proof would there have been, where there is such a dearth even of plausible assumptions, converting surmise into certainty, that "Ashburnham "*alone* knew what they were to do," while the *other two* knew no more, as lord Clarendon verily believes, of the king's purpose, than the horses with which they were ordered to attend.

And who were "*the other two*,"—rivals of Œdipus himself for sagacity in guessing? They are the same two heretofore designated as "*the "other two:*" Legge and Berkeley. But as in that instance* they, on examination, have proved to be Berkeley and Ashburnham; so in this they will turn out to be Legge and Ashburnham. Berkeley's account is;—and it is only from him, or Ashburnham, or Legge, that lord Clarendon could possibly have known what was said, or done, and the last of these is never cited, or even alluded to, as authority.—"The king asked *me* "(sir John), if *I* had ever a ship ready? I "answered that *I* neither had, nor could have "any: having not one penny of money: that I "had desired Mr. Ashburnham earnestly to make

* See page 11, where it is shewn that Legge alone was with the king in Hampton Court palace, while Berkeley and Ashburnham were waiting at the garden gate.

" provision;* but I knew not what he had done " in it. The king then asked *me*, what *I* thought " might be the reason they should say, I had one, " and that discovered, if I had none? I replied, " that it was hard for me to affirm what was their " meaning in that particular; or in general with " their proceeding with his majesty. But I did " conjecture, they (the Scotch) were very desirous " to have his majesty out of the army; which " made them present his dangers to him so fre- " quently, as they had done. His majesty laid " his hand upon *my* shoulder and said, I think " *thou* art in the right."

Thus is Berkeley's relation most essentially, and entirely, different from lord Clarendon's: and so irreconcileably, that one of the two must be rejected. And reasons may be adduced, which cannot easily be controverted, for giving preference to the former.—While the noble historian simply gives the king's question, as addressed to Ashburnham—" and there an end;"—sir John not only affirms, that the *question* was directed to *him*, but informs us what was his answer: then, as naturally arising out of that answer, comes a second question: to which also his reply is added: and finally on that answer the king's remark.

In support of Berkeley's statement generally, and especially of his " conjecture" respecting the Scotch, the following testimonies may be offered.—

Ludlow's Memoirs page 92: " Some there were, " who proposed his going to Jersey. But the

* Very liberal provision:—" *three* or *four* ships in *several* ports, to be ready in all events."

" king being told by the earl of Lanerick, that " *the ships, provided by sir John Berkeley* for that " purpose *had been seized*, &c." And colonel Whalley in his letter to the speaker writes thus— " Whereas you desire, Mr. Speaker, to know, who " were with the king two or three days before his " going. The lord Lanerick was with the king on " Monday morning: but staid not. On Tuesday " all the Scots commissioners: who went away " likewise that night."

Thus it appears to be clearly demonstrated, first; that the king's question was addressed to Berkeley, and *not* to Ashburnham—secondly, that the question was, whether there had *ever been a ship* in readiness *any* where; and not in what *particular place the particular ship lay:* and thirdly, that the king had been apprized, at the same time, of both pretended facts: that of a ship having been secretly provided; and that of its having been subsequently discovered. The question therefore was one not of anxiety but of curiosity.

" After Ashburnham had been some time ab- " sent, he returned without any news of *the* ship; " with which the king *seemed troubled.*"

Alas! poor king!—Many a dismal day must have passed since there had been cause for his seeming otherwise. But if at this moment he seemed more than usually troubled, it might have been (like royal Arthur)—

—" from love;* or the wind-cholic,"

but it could not have been from disappointment.

* Nothing can be more remote from all intention, or more

For that feeling must ever be a stranger, where expectation has not previously been an inmate.

No one, who credits the character given by lord Clarendon either of sir John Berkeley, or of his Memoir; or who has qualified himself to form his own judgement of both by a perusal of the work, the whole design and purpose of which being, as we are expressly told, an endeavour "to "clear himself, by objecting or imputing some-"what to the other that made him liable to just "censure," can possibly conceive, that he should have passed over absolutely unnoticed such facts and circumstances, as have been here detailed, and insisted on by the noble historian, if they had really occurred.

Here then, as well in what Berkeley has said, as in what he has omitted to say, are the positive, and negative, disproofs of this article of a complex charge brought against Ashburnham, of a treachery so enormous as to be without precedent or parallel in the registries of human depravity. The charge indeed is no where specifically, and distinctly, advanced: but it is every where intelligibly, as insiduously, conveyed.

It has been so understood by Rapin; who

repugnant, more abhorrent, to every feeling, than it is here to treat with profane levity the sacred sorrows "of the worthiest "gentleman; the best master; the best friend; the best hus-"band; the best father; and the best christian, that the age, in "which he lived, produced." But when by such a motley garb as this, "of shreds and patches" it is attempted to give the fair semblance of truth to so hideous a calumny, either gravity or patience must be abandoned.

Lord Clarendon's character of Charles I.

with a masterly freedom of pencil has thus filled up the outline of a sketch, purposely left unfinished: or rather added colouring to the original *chiaro-scuro*: "Then the king asked Ashburn-"ham, where the ship lay? *Ashburnham riding* "*before, as it were to get information,* returned "in some little time without any news of the ship; "at which the king seemed uneasy."

It may be objected, that it does not follow, from Rapin's having so understood it, that such must necessarily have been lord Clarendon's meaning. It is most true, that the whole of the noble historian's relation is as full of perplexities, as of errors. It is indeed

"A mighty maze:—but not without a plan."

Of which plan having been supplied with the original design, we need not fear to bewilder ourselves in the labyrinth; however tortuous and complicated may be its intricacies. In the Supplement to Clarendon's State Papers (page 78), where a character is given of sir John Berkeley, the following passage occurs: "this gentleman "and *John Ashburnham, the latter of whom* he "(the king) *had entrusted to provide a ship* for "him to transport him beyond the sea: but by "what accident was not known, there was *no ship* "ready, &c."

"These two persons lay ever under great re-"proaches for their ill conduct of that so precious "affair: which requires an *ample enlargement* in "a *more proper place*."

Here then is that *more proper place*: and *ample* indeed has been the *enlargement*. But it is such,

as the shapeless lump of unleavened dough obtains by pressure;—a broader surface, but no additional weight; or such as misapplied culture has given to certain fruits; increasing the size without heightening the flavour.

Can there then be a doubt, that it has been lord Clarendon's intent to impress on the world a belief, that the assurances of having provided *the* ship were the lure, by which Ashburnham enticed the too confiding monarch from Hampton Court? As though he had been there luxuriously reclined, and solacing himself, on a bed of roses!

Before dismissing the present subject, it may not be irrelevant, though perhaps superfluous, to submit one more extract from the History of the Rebellion, and some observations, to which it naturally gives rise.

"There is reason to believe that he (the king) "did resolve to transport himself beyond the seas, "which had been no hard matter to have brought "to pass; but with whom he consulted for the "way of doing it, is not to this day discovered; "*they*, who *were instrumental* in his remove, *pre-*"*tending* to know nothing of the resolution or "counsel."*

We have been positively told that Ashburnham "had been entrusted to provide a ship." His

* On this passage Warburton has observed: "this indeed "looks as if he had been betrayed by his servants; otherwise "why should he, who was consulted with about his *transport-*"*ing* himself, deny the knowledge of the design? But they "who deceived him did not intend it should be to him harm, "but probably were first deceived themselves."

therefore must have been a pretended ignorance of the king's "resolution and counsel." We have been also told, that "Ashburnham was some time "absent in quest of the ship;" having (as it is added) "ridden before, *as it were* to get informa- "tion." Here is then a pretended knowledge of the pretended fact.

But he neither did the one, nor the other. It has been already proved, that so far from having pretended, that a ship was in readiness, he has been censured and reproached by Berkeley for having rejected even the very idea of such a precaution. And it will now be shewn, that of "those, "who were instrumental in the king's remove," he was not the one *pretending to know nothing of the resolution or counsel.* Because in his narrative, when speaking of the interview, which he and Berkeley in the presence of Legge contrived to obtain in the gallery of Hampton Court, may be found the following passage—"the king told us, "that he had some thoughts of going out of the "kingdom; but for the shortness of time to pre- "pare a vessel to transport him, and for the other "reasons I had sent his majesty by Mr. Legge, "he was resolved to go to the Isle of Wight." Thus avowing his knowledge of the king's resolution and counsel; and stating the king's reasons for having abandoned it.

May it not further be asked, how lord Clarendon's averment, of the king's having asked Ashburnham *where the ship lay*, and of his having *seemed troubled*, and been disappointed, when Ashburnham returned without any news of the

ship, can possibly be reconciled with lord Clarendon's express belief, that "when the king took "horse he had not resolved whither to go?" It is impossible, that he should have asked *where the ship lay*; if he had not been told, that *a ship* was ready *somewhere*. It is improbable, that he should not at the same time have enquired on what coast, at least of the kingdom, it lay at anchor. But admitting, that he might have suppressed what was even then no unseasonable curiosity; and thought that it would be time enough to indulge it, when he should have got fairly out of his prison-palace, what could be his inducement to ask "where the ship lay," but the resolution, wherever that might be, thither to direct his course?

The result of this investigation may be a warning, especially to an old man to mistrust his memory. For as the retentive faculty insensibly becomes impaired, so by a like gradation prejudices are strengthened, and antipathies confirmed. Neither the mere want of recollection, nor of candour, would singly, and alone, have betrayed lord Clarendon into such a series of errors, and absurdities, as constitute this portion of his history. Having read Berkeley's Memoir, it is evident, that some faint indistinct impression was still retained of the king's having asked *a* question about *a ship*; but when, and where,—to whom, and for what purpose,—had been obliterated; and malevolence was suffered, perhaps unconsciously, to fill up the blanks.*

* "Lord Clarendon began the History of the Rebellion on "the 18th of March, 1645-6, in the Island of Scilly; and con-

V.

"Upon this disappointment, the king thought "it best, for avoiding all highways, to go to Titch- "field, a noble seat of the earl of Southampton's, "inhabited by the old lady his mother. There "his majesty alighted; and would speak with "the lady. There he refreshed himself, and con- "sulted with his three servants, what he should "next do, since there was neither ship ready, nor "could they presume that they could remain long "there undiscovered.

"In this debate the Isle of Wight came to be "mentioned (as they say) by Ashburnham, as a "place where his majesty might securely repose "himself, until he thought fit to inform the par- "liament where he was."

Even with the certain knowledge of lord Clarendon's having been abroad at the time, it is dif-

"tinued it to the end of the seventh book, (with portions of "the three following books,) during his residence in the Island "of Jersey, previously to the year 1648, as appears from the "dates prefixed to those several portions as they were respec- "tively entered upon, and finished; and that he did not proceed "further until some years after his banishment,* appears like- "wise from the same source of information."

Advertisement to the last Oxford Edition, 1826.

* In 1667. So that there was an intermission of not less than twenty years.

ficult for his readers to divest themselves of the persuasion, that he must have been present at a scene, the details of which are so naturally and plausibly related; so fully and particularly described. But for them to doubt of the noble historian's having conscientiously verified facts, so gravely and peremptorily propounded, is impossible. Yet no adventure is to be found in all the righte pleasaunte Histories of the Emperor Charlemagne and his Paladins, or of king Arthur and the Knights of his Round Table, embellished by incidents more fictitious, or accessories more unreal, than this of king Charles and his three servants at Titchfield House: saving and excepting only the simple fact, that, sooner or later, they were there all assembled.

That such things as are related did actually happen, lord Clarendon can have no more known than his readers. While on the contrary, that such things must of necessity have happened, is as well known to the readers, as ever it was to their illustrious author. Thus, when it has been premised, that the king resolved to go to Titchfield House, (where he afterwards remained not less than twenty-four hours,) to tell us, that, on his arrival—"there he alighted," is indeed presenting us not so much with "a great appearance of truth," as with a good specimen of truism. Then "he "would speak with the lady." To be sure he would. And so would any one; though far less observant of good breeding than her royal guest: even though, reversing Don Quixote's error, he

should have mistaken the earl of Southampton's "noble Seat" for an inn; and "the old lady his "mother" for its landlady. Especially if he should have come, like the king, not so much in quest of refreshment, as of concealment. Hence not only her consent to admit him, but her connivance to harbour him, became *necessary:* and how was this to be obtained, unless "he would speak with the lady." Then "he refreshed himself." After having first paid his courteous devoirs to the countess Dowager, his "honoured hostess" with all the chivalrous solicitude of a hero in romance; that he should have next indulged the more ignoble propensities of one in real life, is a conclusion, which without lord Clarendon's word for the fact, we might have drawn from his majesty's having rode the whole of the preceding night, and till mid-day without rest or refreshment.

After his refreshment "he consulted with his "three servants what he should next do." It was in truth high time for him so to consult them. And not the less so, because (as we have been assured) thus far, not only he had proceeded without having consulted them, but even without having "resolved himself, when he took horse, whither "he should go." But it is somewhat singular, that at the moment of this *first* consultation, as to what he should *next* do, the Isle of Wight should have been before his eyes: that very place, to which alone, "certain it is, that he never thought "of going." Yet to which, it is not less certain, that from the moment of quitting Hampton Court,

he had been hastening by the most direct road: while "Mr. Ashburnham had it in his view from "the very beginning." Why what an Ignis-fatuus! What a Will o' the Wisp, what a Jack a Lantern must this Jack o' the bedchamber have been! first to lead his royal master such a wild goose chace after "*the* ship;" and then to set him fast in that most tenacious of quagmires, Carisbrook Castle!

We next find, that the reason for holding this extraordinary privy council was, because the king and his three attendants "could not presume, that they could remain long there undiscovered." If, as lord Clarendon affirms, it was not till after the king "had made some stay in that part *next* "*the sea;*" and "Ashburnham had been some "time absent" in quest of *the* ship; that "his "majesty thought it best for avoiding all high "ways to go to Titchfield," there to hold this consultation; it is no wonder that the first resolution, passed nemine contradicente, should have been, that "they could not remain there long un-"discovered." So in truth they could not, even if they had had at starting the noble historian's liberal allowance of ten or twelve hours; but which colonel Whalley had reduced to less than one.

"It was during this debate that the *Isle of* "*Wight came to be mentioned.*" Now it has been already shewn that even some days previous to his majesty's having left Hampton Court, she (the Isle) might have been greeted, not only with the

well-known flattering assurance given to M. Jourdain of "on a parlé de vous dans l'antichambre "du Roi;" but even with that of having been mentioned in the presence chamber; and by the king himself. It may indeed be objected, that the knowledge of this fact rests on no better authority than Ashburnham's Narrative. But whence can a more satisfactory and conclusive proof be derived for establishing the point, to which all lord Clarendon's arguments are directed; namely, that it was by his fatal advice and persuasion, that the king was, (though not maliciously) "betrayed "to this unhappy peregrination." For so our noble classic has, not very happily, termed his majesty's journey of less than fourscore miles within his own dominions.

Positive as is the assertion of the Isle of Wight's having been first mentioned in this debate, the fact of its having been then and there mentioned by Ashburnham, is thus parenthetically qualified; ("as *they* say.") On the first publication of the History of the Rebellion, Le Clerc, the great reviewing critic of that day, objects, that many things have been admitted, too frivolous and nugatory to be worth the noble author's notice. But there is perhaps more cause to regret, that the majestic march of a severe, though not sententious, style should so often trip and slide into the equivocal laxity, and ambiguous carelessness of familiar colloquy. "In this debate the Isle of "Wight came to be mentioned *(as they say)* "by Ashburnham." Who are they, that say so?

Are we to understand from "they say," that such was the common rumour: the mere indefinite equivalent of the French *on dit?* If so; the fair inference is, that, whoever may say so, lord Clarendon does *not* say so. All, that has hitherto been said, has been said by him alone, and upon his own authority. When, therefore, he, as it were, interrupts himself to affix this parenthesis to a particular fact, he must be understood to caution his readers against attributing to him a responsibility, which he thus virtually disclaims. If on the contrary ("*they* say") is to be understood with reference to Legge and Berkeley, the only two persons, who having been present, could be competent to say any thing, we have here a fresh instance of too confident a reliance on a treacherous memory.

It does not appear, as has been already observed, that Legge ever said, or wrote, any thing relating to this transaction. If his testimony can here, or any where else, be adduced, it is entitled to entire credit, and unqualified deference; as decisive authority, from which there is no appeal. What Berkeley has said, will be here subjoined: and thus will be redeemed the pledge, heretofore given, to prove,—that from the moment of his quitting Hampton Court, the king was as frugal and chary of time, as became one aware that from the scantiness of his store he had not a moment to spare: and to shew instead of going out of his road, and retracing his steps, "making some stay" and "waiting some time," and then alighting, and

complimenting, and refreshing, before he consulted with his three servants, that there was in truth

" Nec mora, nec requies ;"

that the consultation was held, while the journey was without intermission pursued; when at the distance of several miles from Titchfield House; consequently, several hours before his majesty alighted there; and further that by that time his " *three*" attendants had been reduced to *one*; and that *Ashburnham* was *not that one.*

Berkeley relates, that when near Sutton (which place the king had told him, that he expected to reach three hours before sun-rise, and to which the relay of horses had been sent forward,) " his " majesty thereupon sent for our horses out, and " we continued our way towards Southampton; " and his majesty resolved, that we four should " walk down the next hill, with our horses in our " hands, and, as we walked, consult, what we " were to do."

Surely the king's thus consulting *all three* of his servants collectively, without exception, or distinction, early on Friday morning is any thing but confirmatory of his having consulted *only one*, until late on Thursday evening.

Sir John concludes by stating, that, " his ma- " jesty resolved (and that for the first time for " aught I could then discover) to go for the Isle " of Wight. Whither he ordered Mr. Ashburn- " ham and me to go to the governor: and to " return to his majesty: who went with Will

" Legge to a house of my lord Southampton's at " Titchfield."

Ashburnham's relation is the following. " Being " come by the morning within less than twenty " miles of the island, his majesty called us all to " him; and said, that his mind was changed: (in " probability very unfortunately:) for he would " not go into the island, until he knew how the " governor would receive him. And therefore " commanded sir John Berkeley and myself to " go to him, &c. &c. In the meanwhile he would " go to Titchfield, the earl of Southampton's house; " where we should find him, if we did return in " any reasonable time."

Such is the unconcerted and unconscious agreement as to place and time between the respective narratives of two men, who " had contracted a " very avowed animosity against each other:" and " were without any inclination that one should " see, what the other had writ." It is true, that lord Clarendon lowers and dilutes somewhat of the strength of the argument to be drawn from the amalgamation of these discordant elements, by saying that Berkeley and Ashburnham " had " been solicitous to wipe off the aspersions, which " were cast upon them jointly, and that they had " it in care to preserve the reputation of a joint " innocence." But this care extended no further than to restrict them from branding each other with the name of traitor: for as to all other charges, Berkeley is ever ready to impugn, censure, and vilify, all thoughts, words, and deeds of

his colleague; and, as the noble historian says, "to clear himself by objecting, or imputing some-"what to the other." Above all the preservation of a joint innocence could not have been in care, so often as Berkeley takes credit to himself for having invariably recommended the king's transporting himself beyond sea, and casts on Ashburnham the reproach of not having readily concurred in adopting so sage a counsel; and one so feasible and expedient, as that of within three or four days "providing three or four ships in several "ports:" or whenever he so vehemently protests against the being supposed ever to have countenanced a project, so rash and insane, as the king's retiring to the Isle of Wight; while the other, so far from disowning it, exclaims,

"Me! me! Adsum qui feci . . . .
" . . . . . nihil iste nec ausus,
"Nec potuit."

If, therefore, as lord Clarendon says, that, "in "this debate" (whether it occurred on the high road near Sutton, or at the noble seat at Titchfield) "the Isle of Wight came to be mentioned "by Ashburnham, as a place, where his majesty "might securely repose himself;" how came Berkeley, ever inveighing, as he is, against the groom of the bedchamber's unmerited and overweening influence, to pass by unnoticed so marked and culpable an instance of it? For surely, if the suggestion had been delayed until the king had been brought within sight of the island, the blame would have been greatly aggravated. But hap-

pily, as unwittingly, sir John has proved, that it was not so delayed.

He says (while we four were walking down the "hill with our horses in our hands) I enquired of "Mr. Ashburnham if he had gotten a ship: and "finding he had not; I proposed going further "west: where I was sure, I had some friends, who "would favour our escape.* And here again I "found the two reasons prevail, of not leaving "the army, before the rendezvous was passed, "and the treaty with the Scots finished."

It is impossible here to abstain from recurring to a former subject of argument. Berkeley's thus inquiring whether *Ashburnham had got a ship*, is perfectly consistent with his own account of the king's having antecedently put the same question to *him* (Berkeley). But, if it was of *Ashburnham*, (as lord Clarendon affirms) that the *king* had asked, "where the ship lay," it is preposterous and irrational. For even if no answer in the first instance had been given, sir John could hardly have expected to obtain from his fellow subject that satisfaction, which had not been conceded by the servant to his royal master. But

* That they would readily so have favoured him, sir John had good reason to be sure: if we may judge of his friends in the west, from what we know of those in the south. For the latter seem never to have been better pleased, than when they had got rid of him. Lord Clarendon relates that, when at Paris, Berkeley offered to repair to the king; boasting of the great services, which it was in his power to render him. "The queen "believed all he said: and those who did not, were very willing, "he should make the experiment. For he, that loved him best, "was very willing to be without him."

our noble historian has told us, that the cause of the king's going to Titchfield was his "disappoint-"ment" at Ashburnham's returning, "*after* hav-"ing been some time absent, without any news "of the ship: at which his majesty seemed "troubled." Now who but Berkeley could have heard Ashburnham's report, or seen the king's trouble.

When Berkeley says, that on proposing that they should go further west, for the purpose of embarkation, he "*again* found the two reasons "prevail of not leaving the army till the rendez-"vous was passed, and the treaty with the Scots "finished:" it is evident, that his omission to name the person, by whom these reasons were so successfully urged, is grounded on the confidence, that his readers will not have forgotten, that previously to quitting Hampton Court, Ashburnham on being asked by him, "why the king would not "make his retreat secure by quitting the king-"dom?" replied "not for *two reasons*," &c. It was then also that Berkeley in his turn was asked by Ashburnham "what he thought of the Isle of "Wight?" To which, according to his own account, he made no other objection than that of his never having been there, and his having no knowledge of the governor: but that he thought better of it, as an expedient, than of the king's going to London. Now admitting (for the sake of the argument only) that the king had not declared, (as Ashburnham has affirmed,) in the presence of Legge and Berkeley, that he had abandoned his first design of quitting the kingdom,

and had now resolved to go to the Isle of Wight, there is here sufficient reason to protest against Hamlet's admonition to the players "let not those, "who play your clowns, speak more, than is set "down for them," being thought applicable to one, who was the very reverse of your clowns; a most accomplished courtier. Let not sir John be understood to have spoken more than has been set down for him: and by himself too. Which is simply, that the king then "*resolved,* (and as far as he "could discover for the first time) to go to the "Isle of Wight." But this is very far from saying that his majesty had never before *had it in contemplation;* and still more so, that it never before *had been recommended* to him.

Thus are the several relations of Clarendon and Berkeley in some parts mutually contradictory, and in others each disagreeing, with itself. But it is hoped, that Ashburnham's on being assayed by the same tests, will be found throughout, and invariably, self-consistent; and occasionally corroborated by the discrepancies between these two authorities, equally hostile to him. Consistency may be a less sure criterion for the ascertainment of truth, than inconsistency is for the detection of falsehood. Yet, if in any case it may be available towards framing a right estimate of a man's credibility, it must be in that of one, who was of "no deep and piercing judgement: and *a free* "*speaker of what he imagined.*" Such Ashburnham is pronounced to have been by a contemporary, so little partial to him as the earl of Clarendon.

When Ashburnham says, that the king, on "calling them all to him, declared that his mind "was *changed;* for he would *not* go into the Isle "of Wight, until he knew how the governor would "receive him," he is strictly consistent; having related, that, before quitting Hampton Court the king said to him, *in the presence of Legge and Berkeley,* "that for the shortness of the time to "procure a vessel, and for the other reasons, I "had sent him by Mr. Legge, he was *resolved to* "*go* to the Isle of Wight." If then the king's mind was *changed* it could not have been in "re-"solving for the first time" to go thither; but because he would *not* go; as he had before resolved, in pursuance of Ashburnham's advice, before adopted. Which was "to continue con-"cealed at sir John Oglander's house, until he "had gained the experience of the governor's in-"clination to serve him. When, if no conditions "could be had from the governor, his majesty "would then be close by the water side; and "might take boat, and dispose of his person into "what part beyond the seas he pleased." Such having been Ashburnham's plan; he may most truly, as well as consistently, on saying, that the king's "mind was changed," add, that it was ("in probability very unfortunately.") Not because it eventually proved to be so: but because the king by thus changing his mind had deprived himself of two chances, either of which was in his favour. The one, that of continuing for a time in the island without the governor's knowledge; the other that of the latter's not being very eager

to take notice of the fact, though not unknown to him:* so long as it was not forced upon his observation. Of which, the possibility alone is here assumed: the probability or rather certainty will hereafter be shewn. But Hammond was disqualified alike from the plea, either of real, or pretended, ignorance; so soon as the king's intention was formally announced, conditions proposed, and pledges, at least of honour, required.

It is to be observed, that according to Berkeley's account the king was the first, if not the *only* person, at the consultation, by whom so much as the name of Hammond was uttered. And his silence here, with respect to Ashburnham's having started the proposition, tallies exactly with his notices elsewhere given. He relates, that Ashburnham, when he first suggested the Isle of Wight, on being interrogated on that point, replied: "that "he had had *some communication* with the gover- "nor of late: and *conceived good hopes* of him: "but *had no assurances* from him." And again, when both having been dispatched with the king's

* In Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. ii. p. 396, is given an anonymous letter, (probably addressed to Oudart the king's private secretary) written so late as the time of the treaty of Newport.—"If then he (the king) will betake himself to his "escape, let him do it on Thursday or Friday next: but by all "means out of some door, and not from the top of the house, "by the help of ladders. For I have heard too much of that "talked of by some near him. Further I desire, that none may "be trusted herewith but your son and Levet.—For your own "particular I have such grounds of the *governor's indisgust of* "*his majesty's escape*, as if performed, shall never bring you into "any examination or trouble about it."

message, and on their road to Lymington, Berkeley says, "by the way I asked Mr. Ash-"burnham, if he had any acquaintance with the "governor, Hammond. He replied, *not very much*, "yet he had lately had some discourse with him "upon the highway near Kingston, and found "him *not very averse* to his majesty. But that, "which made him conceive the best hopes of "him, was the character, that Mr. Denham, and "the commendation, my lady Isabella Thynne* "gave of him."

Now if Berkeley be correct in reporting these conversations, at several times and places, and under very different circumstances; (and if he be not, no kindness for Ashburnham has drawn him into error,) the similarity of expressions, and the identity of sentiments are the more worthy of credit, when reported of one, who was "a free "speaker of what he imagined." There is on both occasions the same distinction made between hope and trust: the former alone is indulged, while the latter is held in check. Nay more, the hope at first expressed to be entertained of Hammond's good disposition is subsequently explained to rest on the recommendation of others; his own observation extending no further than to the having "found him not very averse to his majesty." And his "not having much acquaintance with the go-"nor," corresponds with his having "had of late "some communication with him." Which communication is afterwards reduced to "some dis-

* Isabella, daughter of Henry Rich, earl of Holland, wife of sir James Thynne.

"course" when accidentally meeting him on the "highway near Kingston." After having thus committed himself, and to Berkeley too, is it credible that Ashburnham should ever have declared "Colonel Hammond to be a man, whom the king "might safely trust," from whom he acknowledges himself to have received "no assurances?"

But had the king no such assurances? Had it not been "as a penitent convert," that the king's deservedly favourite chaplain, the pious and loyal Dr. Hammond, "presented this his nephew?" And "which taking well," had not his majesty* "given "him his hand to kiss?"

Surely then it is neither irrational, nor unfair, to suspect, as has been already hinted, that the communication ("in all probability very unfortunately") thus opened with Hammond by a message, so graciously expressive of confidence in his loyalty and honour, originated in the king's own mind:† and that Ashburnham's advice was re-

* Anthony Wood's authority is not here to be made light of; were it only on account of the friendly habits and confidential intercourse between him and sir Thomas Herbert; who during the last twelve months was in constant attendance on his majesty; and the only one of his servants present at the execution. In preference to his own relations he entrusted Wood with the publication of his very interesting memoir; which first appeared in the Athenæ Oxonienses.

† Ludlow says—"at last the king resolved to go to the Isle "of Wight; being, as is most probable, recommended thither "by Cromwell, who *as well as the king*, had a good opinion of "Hammond the governor, there."

Hume quotes both Ludlow and Salmonet as distinct and original authorities. Whereas in all, that relates to this tran-

stricted, as he affirms it to have been, to the king's taking refuge in the Isle of Wight, and there remaining, (as surely for a time he might) unknown to the governor.

It is further material to observe, that lord Clarendon has only said that Ashburnham mentioned the Isle of Wight, "as a place where his majesty "might securely repose himself;" and not that Hammond was a man, whom his majesty might safely trust. But then immediately after, his readers are told, who Hammond was; and how, and why, most unfit to be so trusted. Thus has Rapin been once more supplied with a fresh canvass to display his talent for embroidery. And the flowers, introduced with a boldness of design, breadth of light and shade equally admirable, are these,—"Ashburnham was the first to advise the "king to retire to the Isle of Wight; *and to put* "*himself into the hands of colonel Hammond, the* "*governor*. He must however have known Ham-"mond was Cromwell's creature, &c. Notwith-"standing these reasons, which should have di-"verted Ashburnham from giving such advice, "*he ceased not to persuade the king: who after* "*some objections consented to it.*"

Here, besides Ashburnham's having "advised "the king to put himself into the hands of Ham-"mond," we are told of his unpardonable pertinacity in urging the advice, and of the king's reluctance to adopt it, as positively, as though

saction, the one has merely transcribed, and the other translated verbatim, the account of it given in Berkeley's memoirs.

these assertions were amply warranted by unquestionable authorities.

It is thus that history becomes little less amusing than romance; and little more to be relied on. Yet, however, here as elsewhere, and as often as M. R. de Thoyras, like justice Shallow, presents us with "a pippin of his own grafting," even those, who are not members of the Horticultural Society, may recognise in its flavour the asperity of a Clarendon crabstock.

VI.

"The making choice of the Isle of Wight, and "of Hammond to be trusted, since nothing fell "out which was not to be reasonably foreseen "and expected, and the bringing him to Titch-"field, without the permission of the king, if not "directly contrary to it, seemed to be all so far "from a rational design, and conduct that most "men did believe there was treason in the con-"trivance, or that his majesty entrusted those "who were grossly imposed upon and deceived "by his greatest enemies."

Perhaps the time has been, when "*most men*" were taught to think little less uncharitably, but not more unjustly of the earl of Clarendon, than, as we are here told, that they did of John Ashburnham. But unless "most men" have been also in their turn equally mis-represented and traduced by Fontenelle, in the following extract from his "Histoire des Oracles," the introductory exhortation will be found well worth their attention

and observance—" Assurons nous bien du fait, " avant que de nous inquiéter de la cause. Il est " vrai, que cette méthode est lente pour *la plupart* " *des gens;* qui courent naturellement à la cause, " et passent par dessus la vérité du fait: mais enfin " nous éviterons le ridicule d'avoir trouvé la cause " de ce qui n'est point."——Of this truth, for, that such it is no experience will controvert, a more apt illustration can hardly be adduced than the case now under consideration. If " most " men" had taken the necessary time and trouble to ascertain the state of the Isle of Wight, and the disposition of its inhabitants, at the time of the king's arrival, " the making choice" of it for his asylum might not have appeared so perceptibly pregnant with all those calamitous consequences, to which it successively gave birth; nor might the design have been deemed so " irrational" as not otherwise to be accounted for, than by concluding " that there was treason in the contri- " vance."—It is not however even now too late to institute the enquiry. For the means are not yet lost to demonstrate, that Ashburnham was not unwarranted, when in his letter published in the year 1648 (consequently while the king was a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle) he writes—" I do " still believe it was as his affairs then stood the " best of any place, which his majesty could then " make choice of." That within the region, then retaining nothing of a kingdom, but the name, there was no place accessible to it's virtually deposed sovereign, where he could have so safely trusted himself, as the Isle of Wight, two testi-

monies, equally unexpected, and unexceptionable, will be here produced; that of the earl of Clarendon, and of sir John Berkeley.

The latter, whose enmity, being of a most communicative nature, is always more valuable than a score of ordinary friendships, declares,—"In "the morning" (of the day after he landed) "the "king went with the governor to Carisbrook; "and was met by the way with divers gentlemen "of the island, by whom *we* learnt that *we* were "more fortunate than *we* were aware of, for the "whole island was unanimously for the king ex- "cept the governors of the castles, and Ham- "mond's captains. That there were but twelve "old men in the castle, who had served under "the earl of Portland* and were all well affected. "That Hammond might be easily gained, if not "more easily forced; the castle being day and "night full of loyal subjects and servants of his "majesty."

"His majesty having daily liberty to ride abroad, "might chuse his own time of quitting the island. "Indeed not only his majesty and all that were "about him, but those that were at a further dis- "tance approved by their letters this resolution "of his majesty."

Such was the condition of the king and his attendants at their first landing. But Berkeley goes on to say—"the fifth day after our arrival,

* Commons Journals, 14th of September, 1647. "The "house concurs with the lords, that the earl of Portland's se- "questration may be taken off in consideration of the govern- "ment of the Isle of Wight being taken from him."

" *we* heard that in the rendezvous of the army " the superior officers had carried it. This made " *us* bless God for the resolution of coming into " the island."

Macbeth exclaims—

" The expedition of my violent love
" Outran the pauser reason."

So here has the speed of sir John's stimulated gratitude double distanced his overweighted memory. For it was not a " Te Deum" for the victory of the superior officers, that he began chaunting; but " Non nobis Domine" for the resolution of coming into the island. That is in other words —for the providential frustration of his own notable project of an agreeable surprise to his " friends in the west."

This account might safely be allowed and accepted upon trust, as just and true. Yet for customary form's sake, and in accord with our established practice, it may be satisfactory, though not necessary to examine some few of the many vouchers. The following is an extract from Fairfax's letter to the parliament, dated November 21, (being eight days after the king's arrival) as entered upon the journals—" The king's being in " the Isle of Wight, while the house thinks fit he " should be continued there, will necessarily re- " quire some strength to be sent to col. Hammond, " both for the better *securing the king's person*, " and for *the strength of the island, to prevent any* " *confluence* of such persons* there, as may breed

* Herbert says—" at this time several of the king's old servants were allowed to join him." Page 26.

" *danger for the kingdom*, for which in my opinion " the island, and the king's being in it, yield too " great opportunity."

Excepting in the day of battle, or at most in matters purely military, Fairfax is represented by all contemporary writers, as having had no opinion which had not been suggested to him by Cromwell. There is in the above letter not only with respect to the sentiments, but even to the words a striking identity with those which occur in one of the same date, addressed by Ireton to Hammond.* " Now for your *better securing the king* " and making *sure the island* to *prevent* any *danger* " *to the kingdom*, which a *confluence* or appearance " of ill-affected persons there might occasion, I " advise you by no means to trust so wholly to " the affections of the islanders; but taking " soldiers, whom you may have more surely at " command. For which purpose we have ordered " some to you, and shall send more. In the mean " time, I pray you, neglect not to send for those " ordered from Southampton; and we shall take " care, those you take into the island shall be " paid, while they stay there, whatever others " are." Lastly, after these as well as other reinforcements must have been received, Hammond on the 28th of December writes to the earl of Manchester, the speaker of the house of lords— " I most humbly beg, because *I know it is impos-* " *sible long to secure the king here*, that his person

* From a publication entitled, " Letters to and from Col. " Hammond;" the authenticity of which will be hereafter investigated.

" may be removed, as soon as conveniently he " may be."

It was at a time considerably posterior to the date of this letter that lord Clarendon relates— " There was a general murmur that the fleet had " lain so long idle at the mouth of the river. When " it had been proposed, that it might go to the " Isle of Wight; where they might probably have " released the king. Carisbrook being near the " sea, a castle not strong in itself, *the island well* " *affected, and at that time under no such power* " *as could subdue them.*"

How well affected, how devotedly loyal the island in truth was, a tragical proof soon evinced. The fact recorded by Whitelock and Rushworth, as well as in the Parliamentary Journals, shall be here given in the words of lord Clarendon.— " When Hammond caused all the king's servants, " who till then had liberty to be with him, to be " immediately put out of the castle and forbid " any of them to repair thither any more; and " appointed a strong guard to restrain any body " from going to the king, this insolent and im- " perious proceeding put *the island,* which was " *generally inhabited by a people always well* " *affected to the crown,* into a high mutiny. They " said they *could not endure to see their king* so " used, and made a prisoner. There was at that " time one captain Burley who was of a good " family in the island:" &c.

It was under this brave man, that the loyal inhabitants of Newport rose;—but not in arms. For Ludlow relates, that " there was but one

"musket among them all." And the noble historian adds—"The attempt was presently dis-"cerned to be irrational and impossible, and the "poor gentleman paid dear for his ill-advised and "precipitate loyalty."

It is to be recollected that at the time, when this attempt was made, the Isle of Wight with regard to its being in the power either of the parliament, or of the army, was very differently circumstanced from what it had been on the king's first arrival; when Berkeley says, that the only military force consisted of twelve old invalid royalists; or according to Ashburnham, "there "being then no soldiers of the army in that island." Whereas it appears from the foregoing extracts that reinforcements were instantly ordered: and if it were not unnecessary, several passages in Rushworth might be adduced to prove, that these orders had not been disobeyed.

It is true that this absolute liberty, which, according to lord Clarendon and Berkeley, the king at first enjoyed, ceased on the departure of the parliament's commissioners. There was however the interval of more than a month, during which, the former says, "the king" had from the time of his coming to the Isle of Wight "enjoyed the "liberty of taking the air and refreshing himself "throughout the island, and was attended by "such servants as he had appointed, or sent for "to come thither to him:" the latter adding, that "having daily liberty to ride abroad, he might "have chosen his own time of quitting the island." But Herbert, who being present is better autho-

rity, says that, " the king was allowed liberty to " ride till the middle of February." Ashburnham has related, that it was not until after the differences between the parliament and the army were reconciled, that " that detestable villain " (Hammond) *began* to use his majesty with " great irreverence." Then it was that the king for the first time attempted, or had so much as meditated, an escape. Which accords well with the sentiments expressed in his letter to the lord Lanerick; as well as in that given in Rushworth; which have been already quoted.

After the king's confinement had become most strict in Carisbrook Castle, if sir Thomas Herbert, sir Philip Warwick, and sir John Bowring (the first of these in constant attendance and the two others having frequent access to him during his captivity, and all of them much in his confidence,) may be credited, frequent were the opportunities for his majesty to have escaped, if he could have been persuaded to make the attempt. Colonel Cooke in his Narrative* drawn up by the king's

* From this work (the unquestionable authority of which will be hereafter shewn) the following passage is transcribed. After having stated the reasons, which the king opposed to the earnest entreaties of the duke of Richmond, the earl of Lyndsay, and of Cooke himself, that he would effect his escape, his majesty concluded thus:—" Nay, what if the army should seize " him? They must preserve him for their own sakes. For, " that no party could secure its own interest without him."

" The earl of Lindsay replied—Take heed, sir lest you fall " into such hands, as will not steer by such rules of policy. " Remember Hampton Court, where your escape was your best " security."

express command, circumstantially relates, how it might have been effected, even so late as within a few hours of his being carried off to the pestilential dungeon of Hurst castle.

Here is no mean accession to the small minority dissentient from lord Clarendon and his "most men," who so "reasonably "foresaw, and expected all the evils, which fell out in conse- "quence of this unhappy perigrination: who could discover no "probable inducement, nor the motives which led to so fatal an "end."

To the above may be added a fact on the authority of lord Clarendon himself; which has been already introduced, as applicable to another argument.

If (as we read in the 5th vol. of the History of the Rebellion, at page 522), "the marquis of Ormond had often attended the "king at Hampton Court:.....and *having conferred with his* "*majesty, as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight* "*of what was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that* "*the king left Hampton Court,* he in disguise, and without being "attended by more than one servant, rid into Sussex.....and "thence transported himself into Normandy;" is it not hence to be fairly inferred, that at these conferences Ormond entertained an opinion of the projected escape, such as Lyndsay subsequently avowed? It is little probable that the king, while communing with one, who, (the chancellor of the exchequer alone excepted,) deservedly enjoyed as large a share of his majesty's confidence as any member of the privy council, should have withheld from him an intimation of so important a measure. As little probable it is that the marquis should have suppressed his disapprobation of the expedient, if it had appeared to him so destitute of "all "rational design;" still more so, if evidently pregnant with symptoms of treachery and "treason in the contrivance." Yet less probable it is that never in after times the duke of Ormond should have imparted to his noble friend and colleague how "so "fatal an end would have been avoided," had not his dissuasions and remonstrances been rejected. And then least of all, is it probable that our illustrious historian should have neglected to

Yet has the world been taught to believe (and by lord Clarendon too) that "from the making "choice of the Isle of Wight" for the king's place of refuge, "nothing fell out which was not to be "reasonably foreseen and expected!" that this was but the first fatal step, which necessarily, inevitably, obviously led to each consecutive scene of affliction, and humiliation, of privation and persecution; of contumely, indignity, and outrage; through which the royal victim passed, even to their last dreadful catastrophe; when he laid his prematurely "grey, discrowned head," on the block,

—— "placidâque ibi demum morte quievit."

*** Among Bishop Warburton's Notes, published in the last Edition of Clarendon's History, is the following on this passage.—"This was ano-"ther unaccountable piece of conduct in the king, "that when he had been brought to the Isle of "Wight he knew not how, but when he could "not engage Hammond's word to let him go as "he came, whenever he should choose it, saw, "and said, that he was ruined, that he should not "employ the liberty he had from his first coming, "to the arrival of the parliament commissioners, "to take the first opportunity of escaping. But "the bringing him to the scaffold seemed to be "as much the work of inevitable destiny, as

name emphatically so respected an individual, as at the head of his anonymous "most men;" or to magnify to the utmost this one "true man," amidst his multiplicity of "rogues in "buckram."

"any event recorded in the civil history of mankind."

It is hence very evident, that, in the opinion of the right revd. Commentator, the bringing of the king to the scaffold was not more an inevitable and necessary consequence of his having been brought to the Isle of Wight, than of his having been previously brought to Hampton Court, to Holdenby, or Newcastle.

VII.

"They both writ apologies or narrations of all "that passed in that affair—in which there was "not any clear relation of any probable induce-"ment that prevailed with the king to undertake "that journey."

Ashburnham, as it appears, had not even the sufficient talent to state with clearness a case to one, so well acquainted with each particular of it, as lord Clarendon has shewn himself to be in the following, true and pathetic description of the miserable state of existence, to which at Hampton Court the ill-fated monarch had been reduced.

—"The king found himself in great perplexity, "from what he discerned, and observed himself, "as well as what he heard from others; but "what use to make of the one or the other, was "very hard to resolve: *he did really believe that* "*their malice was at the height, and that they* "*did design his murder*, but knew not which was "a probable way to prevent it. The making an

" escape, *if it were not contrived with wonderful* " *sagacity*, would expose him to be assassinated, " by pretended ignorance, and would be charged " upon himself; and if he could avoid their guards, " and get beyond them undiscovered, whither " should he go? And what place would receive " and defend him?"

Surely much of the above quoted passage must have escaped the recollection of the noble historian, at the time when he subsequently affirmed, that " when the king took horse" it is probable, that " he had not resolved whither to go;" and that " certain it is" that he had not thought of " going to the Isle of Wight:" that his two other attendants only knew, that they had orders to wait with their horses " at such a place and at " such a time;" while " Ashburnham *alone* seemed " to know what they were to do." Because this is to ascribe to the latter the entire, unparticipated merit of having effectually accomplished, and triumphantly atchieved an enterprize of " great " pith and moment," which could not so much as be " *contrived*" without " *wonderful sagacity*."

It is however hoped, that the following extract from Ashburnham's Narrative, though " no clear " relation," may prove not wholly unintelligible, after lord Clarendon's luminous exposition of the subject to which it relates—" When we came into " the gallery (at Hampton Court) I told his ma- " jesty, that Mr. Legge had delivered his pleasure " to us, to provide for his going from thence: " and we were very ready to obey him. But I " did most humbly beg of him, that he would be

" pleased to say whether really and in very deed " he was afraid of his life in that place. For his " going from thence seemed to us an occasion of " a very great change in his affairs. *His majesty* " *protested to God, that he had great reason to* " *apprehend some attempt upon his person; and* " *did expect every hour when it should be.* I re- " plied, that it did not then become us to make " any further enquiry; but to apply ourselves to " the discharge of our duty."

VIII.

" I have read both their relations, and conferred " with both of them at large, to discover in truth " what the motives might be which led to so fatal " an end."

If Ashburnham could have expressed himself with sufficient clearness to be understood, how greatly would the noble historian have been surprised to find, that there was so little difference between their respective sentiments; or rather how indignant to discover, that those of the chancellor of the exchequer should have been by anticipation usurped, as unblushingly, as heretofore " his office had been invaded, by the same groom " of the bedchamber!" For it is evident that the latter concurred with the former in opinion, that " it had been a difficult task to go about to dis- " suade the king from an apprehension of his own " safety, when it was much more natural to fear " an assassination, than to apprehend any thing,

" which they did afterwards do:" and that on the contrary it was scarcely a more easy one to set about to advise him, " whither he should go;" on account of the perils, to which any attempt at removal would expose him.

In this dilemma, and with only an alternative of evils, he seems to have done all, that a wiser man, so situated, could have done, that is, of those presented to him to have chosen the least. To supply the advice thus imperatively exacted from him, he was limited to the resources of his own mind. For lord Clarendon has told us, that the king was irresolute: that colonel Legge " having in truth a better judgment and under- " standing, was no contriver of bold counsels"— and that sir John Berkeley, (having a worse,) was invariably and indiscriminately a strenuous opposer of all counsels whatsoever, which he had not himself contrived. It was indeed a difficult task to name a place which " would receive" the king, and which having received could " defend him." For to be such it was requisite, that it should be " generally inhabited by a people always well- " affected to the crown; and at that time free " from all such power as could subdue them;" that it should be " near the sea;" and that in the mean time his majesty should " enjoy the liberty " of taking the air and refreshing himself;" so that he " might at any time transport himself;" in a word such, as lord Clarendon has described the Isle of Wight: and such as was nowhere else to be found within the titular kingdom. But the unnatural coincidence in judgment of the so

opposite characters had "this extent, no more." Since from the same premises the most contrary conclusions were drawn.

For we find, aware that the Isle of Wight was in all respects such, as lord Clarendon has described it, Ashburnham with equal obstinacy and folly writing (in his letter published in the year 1648, while the king was yet alive and a prisoner there)—"I do still believe it was, as his majesty's "affairs then stood the best of any place, which "he could then make choice of. And I will not "be afraid to avow my opinion, because success "has made it seem less reasonable." While lord Clarendon on the contrary has decided that, "from "the making choice of the Isle of Wight," (morally and physically circumstanced as it then was, according to his own authority) "nothing fell out, "which was not to be reasonably foreseen and "expected." And that "it seemed to be so far "from a rational design and conduct, that most "men did believe, that there was treason in the "contrivance." Subsequently to this last paragraph not many intervene before the following occurs, which has been lately noticed—"It was "much more natural" (the king being then at Hampton Court) "to fear an assassination than "any thing that they did afterwards do."

The introduction of Ashburnham's own statement of his motives cannot here in fairness be objected to: which though very circumstantial is submitted without fear to the strictest scrutiny:—"I did then (unfortunately in regard to the

" success, not of the ill choice of the place) offer to " their thoughts sir John Oglander's house in the " Isle of Wight, where his majesty might continue " concealed till he had gained experience of the " governor's inclination to serve him. Which if " good; that place would secure him certainly " from the fears of any private conspiracy of the " agitators (the principal end of his remove) there " being then no soldiers of the army; if by any " accident they should resume their desires of " serving him: (his flight from thence being liable " to no other interpretation than to save his life.) " Hold up the drooping hearts of his own party; " and give opportunity to the Scots, or the houses " of parliament, (both being then highly in oppo- " sition to the army,) to make some further ap- " plication to his majesty: and be more in readi- " ness there than in any other part of the kingdom " to receive advantage by the fleet, if at any time " the seamen should return to their duties. But " if no conditions could be had from the governor, " his majesty would be then close by the water- " side; and might, when there should be no argu- " ment left for his stay, take boat: and dispose " of his person into what part beyond the sea he " pleased."

In the above observations will have been found the denial of *all* the facts without exception, such as they have been stated by lord Clarendon in his account of the time and manner of the king's escape from Hampton Court, and of all the subsequent circumstances of his Journey to the Isle

of Wight, on which have been founded his unqualified censure and reprobation of that much misrepresented transaction. Whether the contradictions amount to a refutation, wholly or partially, of the noble historian's averments, not only the several authorities have been named, but the passages have been fully and faithfully transcribed, and submitted to the reader's judgment and decision. M. Villemain in his deservedly admired work, " la Vie de Cromwell" has justly remarked, that " la Narration de Clarendon, entiérement " adoptée par Hume, est fort inexacte, et con- " traire aux régistres du parlement." Such it has already been, and will hereafter be further, proved. But Hume though he has expressly avowed his having followed this illustrious leader, is evidently (as has been before noticed) not satisfied with a relation on many points at variance with those of his contemporaries, some of which he has particularly indicated. But if he further detected, he has abstained from exposing, any of the numerous discrepancies, and frequent inconsistencies, which occur within the narrow compass of a few pages. Most of these, as occasion has required, have been already noticed. Yet it would be too great an abandonment and sacrifice of the cause here advocated if with a view to spare the reader's time, or patience, a brief recapitulation of them, synoptically contrasted, were to be here omitted.

1.

" *The king did really believe*, that " their malice was at the height, and " *that they did design his murder*, but " knew not which was a probable " way to prevent it."

2.

" It had been a difficult task to go " about to dissuade the king from an " apprehension of his own safety, " when *it was much more natural to* " *fear an assassination than to appre-* " *hend any thing that they did after-* " *wards do.*"

3.

" The *island* being *well affected* and " at that time under *no such power* as " could *subdue them.*

" The *island* was *generally in-* " *habited by a people always well* " *affected* to the crown.

4.

" The making an escape, if it were " *not contrived* with *wonderful saga-* " *city*, would expose him to be assas- " sinated, by pretended ignorance."

5.

" When they were free from the " apprehension of the guards, and " the horse quarters, *they rode to-* " *wards the south-west, and towards* " *that* part of Hampshire which led " to the New Forest."

6.

" The king asked Ashburnham, " where the ship lay."

1.

" I have read both their relations, " and conferred with both of them " at large, to discover in truth *what* " *the motives might be* which led to " so fatal an end.

" There was no clear relation of " *any probable inducement that pre-* " *vailed with the king* to undertake " that journey."

2.

In consequence " of the making " choice of the Isle of Wight, *nothing* " *fell out which was not reasonably* " *foreseen and expected.*

3.

" *The making choice of the Isle of* " *Wight, seemed to be so far from a* " *rational design, and conduct, that* " most men thought there was trea- " son in it."

4.

(N. B. After having been effected) " the *whole design* appeared to be so " *weakly contrived.*"

5.

" Certain it is that *the king never* " *thought of going to the Isle of* " *Wight.*"

6.

" *Nor* do I, in truth, think that the " *king himself*, when he took horse, " resolved *whither* to go."

7.

" Ashburnham returned without " any news of *the* ship; with which " the king seemed *troubled.* Upon " this *disappointment,*" &c.

8.

" Ashburnham *alone* seemed to " know what they were to do, the " other two having received only " orders to attend."

9.

" Berkeley took care to publish " that this enterprize of the king was " totally without his privity.

" Legge had had so general a repu- " tation of integrity, and fidelity to " his master, that *he* never fell under " the least imputation, or reproach " with any man.

" Certain it is that the *king never* " thought of going to the Isle of " Wight. So that the *whole weight* " *of the prejudice and reproach was* " *cast upon Ashburnham.*"

7.

" The not being sure of a ship, if " *the resolution were fixed for embark-* " *ing, which was never manifest,*" *&c.*

8.

" There he refreshed himself, and " consulted with his *three* servants " what he should *next* do."

9.

" It is probable, that Cromwell, who " many years afterwards committed " Ashburnham to the tower, and did " hate him, and desired to have taken " his life, *would have been glad to* " *have blasted his reputation by de-* " *claring that he had carried his* " *master to the Isle of Wight, without* " *his privity, upon his own presump-* " *tion. Which,* how well soever in- " tended, must have been looked " upon by all men as such a trans- " cendent crime, as *must have de-* " *prived him of all compassion for the* " *worst that could befall him.*"

If experience had not demonstrated, that for a century past, " most men" have believed lord Clarendon's to be a very clear relation; it might have been supposed, that any man, whether in his chariot or his closet, with this portion of the History of the Rebellion before him, on being interrogated; " understandest thou what thou readest?" would answer in the negative; readily, as did the eunuch; but not so readily meet with an interpreter.*

* If Philip were now living, he would hardly be among the patron saints of the Bible (without comment) Society.

IX.

" Ashburnham said he would conduct him " (Hammond) to the place where the king was.

" The putting the king into Hammond's hands " without his leave could never be wiped out."

Ashburnham in the introduction to his Narrative says—" Since my coming out of prison, I have met " with some friends of mine, who tell me of a dis- " course, written by the lord John Berkeley, upon " his majesty's going to the Isle of Wight: wherein, " though he lays no stress upon my integrity, yet " he spares not to lay faults of other natures upon " me; which after examination, may perhaps prove " to be his own."

The examination of Berkeley's own statement will alone suffice to decide, whether it was by his folly, or Ashburnham's, that both incurred the suspicion of treachery. He relates, that, on arriving at Carisbrook Castle, they " found the governor " was newly gone out towards Newport. When " we overtook him, Mr. Ashburnham desired me " to open the matter to him." Why Ashburnham so desired him (as in fact he did,) is left to conjecture. Perhaps it might be for the same reason, that Marcellus desired Horatio to address the ghost:

" Thou art a scholar, speak to it Horatio."

But however this may be, scholar or not, the lord John was not a man *à se le laisser dire deux fois*. Indeed, when it was to put himself forward, he seems seldom to have waited for a first invitation.

He proceeds to say—" After I had saluted him, I took him aside, and " delivered our message to " him word for word." This was surely not so much " to open the matter," as it was at once to jump " in medias res" and to

" ——— unloose the gordian knot,
" Familiar as his garter."

Here two observations present themselves. The first is; that Berkeley's omitting to mention, that he said any thing introductory, or prefatory to his delivering of the message " word for word," is not tantamount to averring, that he said nothing of the kind. The second is, that immediately after this most dry, jejune, matter-of-fact, commencement, " laconic even beyond laconicism," he again becomes as unreservedly communicative, as he was before, and continues to be ever after. Indeed the remainder of his statement is given in a style so interlocutory, as to be quite dramatic. Nor does he only shew his skill as a dramatist, but as a painter also. He groupes his figures, shews us how they were placed relatively to each other; their looks and gestures, as well as the precise words of each personage. How then in this single instance can be accounted for such a departure from his habitual egotistical garrulity; such a forbearance from the constant indulgence of his ruling passion?

On a point, where Berkeley's Memoir fails, it is natural to have recourse to Ashburnham's Narrative for information. In which we find the desideratum thus supplied:——" On meeting with " the governor, I desired sir John Berkeley would

" inform him with the reason of our coming to " him. Who then asked the governor, who he " thought, was *very near him?* He said he knew " not. Sir John Berkeley replied; *even the good* " *king Charles:* who was *come* from Hampton " Court for fear of being privately murdered."

There cannot in reason be a doubt, that Berkeley must have uttered, if not these very words, others of the same import, and to the like purpose, from what he himself relates to have been the immediate effect produced on Hammond by his having " delivered the message word for word."—" But " he (Hammond) grew so pale, and fell into such " a trembling, that I did really believe, he would " have fallen off his horse. Which trembling " continued with him at least an hour after; in " which he broke out into passionate and dis- " tracted expressions; sometimes saying, ' Oh " ' gentlemen, you have undone me by *bringing* " ' *the king into the Island:* if at least you have " ' brought him: and, if you have not, pray let " ' him not come: for what between my duty to " ' his majesty, and my gratitude for this fresh " ' obligation of confidence, and my observing my " ' trust to the army, I shall be confounded.' Other- " while he would talk to a quite contrary purpose. " I remember, to settle him the better, I said that " God be thanked, there was no harm done; that " his majesty intended a favour to him, and his " posterity, in giving him an occasion to lay a " great obligation upon him; and such as was " very consisting with his relation to the army: " who had so solemnly engaged themselves to his

"majesty. But, if he thought otherwise, his ma-
"jesty would be far from imposing his person
"upon him. To that he replied; that then, if
"his majesty should come to any mischance, what
"would the army and the kingdom say to him,
"that had refused to receive him? To this I re-
"plied, that he did not refuse him, who was *not*
"*come* to him. He returned, that he must needs
"know where his *majesty was*, because he knew
"*where we were*. I told him, he was never the
"nearer; for my part."

No! "not upon compulsion Hal." Who would not warrant sir John?—

——— "Phalaris licet imperet ut sis"
"Falsus, et admoto dictet perjuria tauro."

But unfortunately, as unwittingly, he had (if the homely phrase may be allowed) "let the cat "out of the bag:" and there was no getting her into it again. From whom could Hammond *needs know where* his majesty was, because he knew, where Berkeley and Ashburnham were; if the former had not told him, that "the good king "Charles was very near him, and come from "Hampton Court?" Nobody but Berkeley, even by his own account, had as yet spoken to Hammond.

Ashburnham's reflection on Berkeley's exordium is as follows:—"This was (to speak modestly) "a very unskilful entrance into our business: "nothing being to be preserved with greater se-"crecy from him (Hammond) than that the king "was come from Hampton Court: our pretence "naturally being to have returned thither with

" his answer. To the end, that his majesty might " have made a judgment of Hammond's resolu- " tion at his own leisure. Which of necessity he " must have done, if sir John Berkeley had not " discovered, that the king was so near him."

To entitle Ashburnham to credit for what he has here said; or at least to prove, that this precaution was no after-thought, Berkeley has thus unconsciously born witness. On their separation from the king, when he determined to go with Legge to Titchfield-house, he says—" the first " thing *we* resolved was that, since his majesty " went towards the east side of the island, that " we would go on to the west: to a place called " Lymington: where Mr. Ashburnham told me, " there was a short passage over."

Lord Clarendon says, that Berkeley " by the " custom of making frequent relations of *his own* " actions, grew in very good earnest to think, he " had done many things, which nobody else ever " heard of." If sir John's " frequent relations" had only been those of " *his own* actions," it is not very obvious, how such a custom should have led to such a result, as the one here attributed to it. But it is discoverable from his own memoir, that he not seldom took credit to himself for the actions of other men; if not claiming them exclusively as his own, at least arrogating to himself the full participation in a joint merit, arising from combined resources, and preconcerted policy. And this habit would naturally induce, in very good earnest, the " mentis gratissimus error," noticed by the noble historian. This betrays itself in a

passage recently quoted: where he relates, that on the morning after landing on the Isle of Wight, "*we* learnt, that *we* were more fortunate, than *we* "were aware of." Now who are *we*.—First, there is ("myself, fidelicet, myself") sir John: who, as lord Clarendon has correctly affirmed, "took care "to publish, that this enterprize of the king's was "wholly without his privity; and that he had not "the least intimation of his majesty's purpose;" and which when known, he invariably protested against and deprecated. Secondly, there is the king ("fidelicet the king") who readily adopted the scheme. And ("the three party is, lastly and "finally") Ashburnham, who alone and on his own responsibility, proposed it. But when the news came of the agitators having been suppressed, never did Pharisee more devoutly, gratefully, and "in very good earnest," acknowledge the just discernment, with which a bounteous Providence is dispensed.—"This made *us* bless God for the re-"solution of coming into the island:" instead of "going further west;" according to sir John's own advice.

When therefore Berkeley says—"The first thing "*we* resolved was, that since his majesty went "towards the east side of the island, we would "go on to the west," the reason for this precaution is obvious. And there cannot be a doubt, with whom it originated. Berkeley's first objection to the king's going to the Isle of Wight was, that he "knew nothing of the island, or of the "governor." And in further proof, no doubt, of his being no willing party to that measure, adds,

that he had never in his life been at Sutton in Hampshire; on being ordered to send forward a relay of horses. And when he now speaks of "a "place, *called* Lymington," it is natural to infer, that he is speaking of a place, with the name of which he has but recently become acquainted; and which he therefore presumes to be unknown to his readers. But whether the merit of this precaution belong to Berkeley or Ashburnham; the latter is equally exempt from the blame, which he would have justly deserved, if, knowing, as he must have done, his colleague's judgment and discretion, he had "desired him to open the business," without a previous hint, as to the expediency of concealing from Hammond the fact of the king's escape from Hampton Court.

It too often happens, that an action is pronounced to be wise, or foolish, in consequence of the notion, justly or unjustly, entertained of the man's character. For, even, where the latter be duly appreciated, no universally sure criterion is obtained to decide on the former. Would it then be too absurd to suppose, that this very resolution,* so blamed and condemned in Ashburnham, might in some other, who had found favour in the sight of lord Clarendon and "most men," have been extolled as a rare instance of "wonderful "sagacity," and of admirable presence of mind: and that this separating of the governor from his government might have been compared to the detaching of Antæus from his mother earth? For

* "That he would conduct him (Hammond) to the place "where the king was."

it was in fact to place Hammond in the power of the king, and not the king in that of Hammond. So it was considered by the two persons, whom it best behoved, as it most interested, to judge rightly of the relative situations, in which they were thus placed:—the king and Hammond. It is related by Berkeley, that when "Mr. Ashburnham "replied, that if he (the king) mistrusted Ham- "mond, he would undertake to secure him. His "majesty said I understand you well enough: but "the world would not me. If I should follow "that counsel, it would be said, and believed, "that *he ventured his life for me, and that I had* "*unworthily taken it from him.*" And Hammond in his letter to the parliament announcing the king's arrival in the Isle of Wight, concludes thus —"*Conceiving myself no way capable to secure* "*him there* (at Titchfield House,) I chose, *(he de-* "*siring it,)* to bring him over into this island;* "where he now is."

Yet lord Clarendon has here been pleased to affirm, that "Hammond, having the command of "the country, could call in what help he would."

The truth is, however, that Hammond had *not* the command of the country.† Beyond the precincts of the Isle of Wight he had been invested with no authority whatsoever, civil or military. And with respect to influence, locally considered, a governor is the very reverse of a prophet. At all events, of that, which Hammond could, or

* "*Where he now is*" seems rather to imply, that he is there by his own choice and desire, and not as being detained by force.

† This will be hereafter proved.

could not, do at Titchfield House, he himself on the spot must have been a better judge, than the chancellor of the exchequer at Jersey.

X.

"Another particular, which was acknowledged "by Hammond, did him (Berkeley) much credit, "that when Hammond demanded that Ashburn- "ham should remain with him whilst the other "went to the king, which Ashburnham refused to "do, Berkeley did offer himself to remain with him "whilst Ashburnham should attend his majesty; "so that the whole weight of the prejudice and "reproach was cast upon Ashburnham."

Berkeley is repeatedly and invariably represented by lord Clarendon to have been the most vain glorious of egotists. Yet in that very "apo- "logy or narrative" of his, drawn up, as we are assured, on the same authority, and as in truth it has evidently been, for the double purpose of "clearing himself and of objecting or imputing "somewhat to the other;" he has neither dealt out that copious measure of panegyric on himself, nor of vituperation on his colleague, which has been lavished on either by the noble historian. From whose account, as above quoted, Berkeley's thus materially differs—"*Hammond* thereupon "*concluded*, that I should go into the castle; and "that Mr. Ashburnham should take his horse, "and go to the king, and tell his majesty what "he said. I embraced the motion most readily,

"and immediately went over the bridge into the "castle. Though I had the image of the gallows "very perfectly before me. Mr. Ashburnham "went, I believe with a better heart to horse. "But before he was gone half a flight shot, the "governor, being before the castle gate called to "him and had a conference of at least a quarter "of an hour with him. To what purpose I never "knew until I came into Holland. Where a "gentleman of good worth and quality told me, "that the governor afterwards affirmed in London, "and in many places, that he then offered to "Mr. Ashburnham, that I should go, and that he "should stay: as believing his majesty to be less "willing to expose him than me; but that Mr. "Ashburnham absolutely refused."

From this account it neither appears that under such circumstances as those related by lord Clarendon, nor under any circumstances, that Berkeley did spontaneously "offer himself" to remain with the governor: but only that "he "readily embraced the motion." That is, acquiesced in the arrangement, which the governor, (like a despotic manager casting the dramatis personæ of a piece without regard to the wishes of his actors,) had concluded for him. Neither is there any mention of Hammond's having *demanded*, but only of his having *offered*, that Ashburnham, instead of Berkeley, should remain with him. Surely it will not be denied, that there is a distinction, and a difference too, between refusing to comply with a demand, and refusing to accept an offer. Then as to this refusal, be it what

it may, we have not Berkeley's own word for it. So very "perfectly" as he tells us, that "he had "the image of the gallows *before* him," when he went over the bridge into the castle, he could hardly have noticed what was passing *behind* him, between the governor and Ashburnham.—On the contrary he admits, that all he knew of this refusal was from the hearsay report of an anonymous informant: though indeed, we are assured, that he was "a gentleman of good worth and "quality."

Yet after all Berkeley really did make this offer: if Ashburnham's narrative may be credited; though not in the way related by lord Clarendon. Ashburnham says—"He (Hammond) then pro-"posed to sir John Berkeley, that one of us "should stay with him, till the other did return. "Wherewith sir John Berkeley acquainted me, and "offered himself to stay. Which I did not much "dispute: as well because I thought that part "least dangerous (signifying only a man's draw-"ing his neck out of the collar), as for that I did "believe myself most useful to his majesty, in case "he had taken up any other resolution: well "knowing all the sea coast in that county."

Why should that, which Ashburnham, or any man, says, be disbelieved, unless there be some sufficient reason to justify, or at least to excite, incredulity: such as,—first that there is proof of it's being false; or, secondly, that there is opposed to it some more plausible solution, or more satisfactory statement; or, thirdly, that the proposition in itself is too absurd and extravagant to be

probable: or, lastly; that the man is notoriously a liar. That such was not Ashburnham's character, will hereafter be certified to conviction: and that none of the other reasons exist in this case shall be immediately demonstrated. According to this narration, it does not appear either, that (as lord Clarendon affirms) Hammond made any *demand* on Ashburnham to *stay;* or that (as Berkeley says) Hammond made him that offer. But only, that the governor proposed, that *one, either*, of the two, should remain with him. On the two reasons assigned by Ashburnham for not contesting with Berkeley the post of *honour*, that is, as it often is, of *danger*, a few observations may be allowable. Whether the more perilous part of the two were the one, which Berkeley had chosen for himself (namely by remaining in Carisbrook castle, to be exposed to the vengeance of the parliament, or of the army, for having aided and abetted, comforted and assisted, the king in his flight; when all concur, that flight alone could in all probability have saved his life:) or whether the one, which devolved on Ashburnham, namely the attempt to rejoin the king under the incertitude, whether his majesty would have still ventured after so long a delay to remain at Titchfield house: if indeed some one of the many accidents, to which his situation became hourly more and more exposed, should not have already relieved him from all anxious thought for his ulterior safety, is a question, on which it must be admitted, that contrary opinions may be entertained with equal sincerity, as well as equal

plausibility. Ashburnham imagined, (and here he has shewn himself such as he is described by lord Clarendon, "a free speaker of what he ima-"gined,") that of the two the former enterprize was the least hazardous: and in this instance he will once more be found consistent in his sentiments and his statements. In enumerating the various reasons (already quoted) for having recommended the king's retiring to the isle of Wight, he says—"his flight being liable to no "other interpretation than to save his life."

In one of the three letters, found on the king's table on quitting Hampton court, he declares to the parliament, that "his personal security is the "urgent cause of this his *retirement*." And he concludes thus:—"Let me be heard with free-"dom, honour, and safety, and I shall *instantly* "*break through* this cloud of *retirement*." These expressions surely rather convey the idea, that his going out of the kingdom was not in contemplation. Certainly they better accord with the notion of his predetermination to go to the isle of Wight, than with lord Clarendon's "*certainty*, "that his majesty never thought of going there." We further find subsequently in Ashburnham's narrative, that, "the king being come to the "island, had for a while all the satisfaction from "the governor, which that place could afford; his "flight from Hampton court *being understood by* "*parliament and army, to carry great innocence* "*with it*." Nor could it by either of them be understood otherwise. The parliament could not be displeased at the king's having escaped out of the

hands of the army: nor the principal officers at his having placed himself out of the reach of assassination by the infuriated agitators: least of all could Cromwell: to whom, through the evidence of colonel Whalley's letter to the speaker, the intimidating warning of the king's danger had been traced. But if, before Ashburnham's arrival at Titchfield house, the king had already departed: or if being still there, he had been dissatisfied, as he actually proved to be, with the terms obtained from Hammond, then indeed, still more than before his escape, it might be asked, "whi-"ther should he go?" and "what place would "receive and defend him?" now that he had betrayed himself, through that ill-advised message to the governor; and thereby frustrated all the hopes, which had been reasonably conceived, of his security "among a people" (so described by lord Clarendon) "always well-affected to the "crown: who would not bear to see their king "ill-used and made a prisoner: and at that time "under no such power as could subdue them."

But the king impatient with too much reason at the necessarily protracted absence of his two emissaries, had already before their return "sent "to Hampton for a vessel to transport himself "into France." And we further learn from Ashburnham's narrative, that "after two hours stay "no news came of the ship: nor indeed was it "possible, that there could be any; for that very "night orders came to the mayor of Southampton "to shut that port, and to send the like orders to "the isle of Wight." Now if the king had been

apprehended in an attempt to embark; or after having actually embarked; or even, if the preparations for such evasion had been brought to light, would that attempt have been equally *understood by parliament or army to carry great innocence "with it?"* And in that case would Berkeley or Ashburnham have chosen the better, that is the safer, part?

Ashburnham's second reason for declining colonel Hammond's obliging invitation to pass a few days with him at Carisbrook castle, accompanied with the offer to oust sir John Berkeley, (whose account is here followed) was that "he did be- "lieve himself more useful to his majesty in case "he should take any other resolution: well "knowing all the sea coast." Of which Berkeley has admitted, if not prided himself on his entire ignorance. He was aware also, that there was another point, on which the difference between them was equally great. How acceptable to his royal master his own services always were; and how much the reverse were those of his colleague, he had very recently received the strongest testimony. Which is thus related in his narrative—

"Not many days after" (his being dismissed from his attendance upon the king at Hampton court) "Mr. Legge came to me from his majesty; "and told me, that his majesty was resolved to "escape from Hampton court; and commanded "me to contrive it for him. To which I did most "readily submit: and promised to do my duty "therein: but desired to know whither he in- "tended to go? He replied, his majesty left that

" thought to me. I told him, that was too hard " a burden for me to undertake: but if he would " get the king's consent to impart it to sir John " Berkeley, we would offer him our opinions next " morning. Mr. Legge told me, it was his *ma-* " *jesty's positive pleasure, that sir John Berkeley* " *should not be acquainted with his escape.* Yet " in regard he was sent over by the queen; and " that I was very doubtful of my own judgement " in so weighty a matter; and for that he was so " constantly with me, that I could not well avoid " him, I did (very presumptuously I confess) send " the king word, that he ought to have the know- " ledge of that business: and I would be respon- " sible for him. The next day Mr. Legge came " to know what *our* sense was upon his majesty's " remove."

All expectation, hope, or even desire having been repeatedly disclaimed to obtain credit for any fact, resting on the authority of Ashburnham's narrative, it is necessary here to shew, that the above relation cannot be discredited by those, who believe lord Clarendon's, to be an authentic history.

" He (the king) saw and *observed* " *men long before he received them* " *about his person.*

" And did not love strangers nor " *very confident men.*"

" Berkeley was *little known* to the " *king* and *that little not without some* " *prejudice.*"

" Ambition and vanity were known " to be predominant in him; and " that he had *a great confidence in* " *himself.*"

On Berkeley and Ashburnham's joining the king on his progress from Holmby to Hampton court (as lord Clarendon says) " nearly at the

"same time," though not having come from France together—"they were both welcome to "his majesty: the one bringing a special recom- "mendation from the queen: the other needed "no recommendation; the king's own inclina- "tions disposing him to be very gracious to him."

Still more recently, and by a most appalling proof, Ashburnham had learnt, what fatal consequences had ensued from his presumptuous recommendation of Berkeley to the king's confidence, and on his own responsibility. The only atonement, if indeed any could expiate this abuse of the royal favour and reliance, (it being impossible with any increase of zeal to devote, and exert himself in his master's service,) was to prevent, if possible, ulterior mischief from the garrulous levity of unconscious indiscretion, and uncontroulable conceit.

It is true that Ashburnham must have known that colonel Legge still remained in attendance on his majesty, who is represented by lord Clarendon as having "had in truth a better judgment and "understanding than either of the other two." And no one, who, like the author of this vindication, has known three generations of his descendants, can read, that colonel Legge "had so "general a reputation of integrity and fidelity to "his master, that he never fell under the least im- "putation or reproach with any man," and not feel convinced, that lord Clarendon never pronounced a more merited eulogium. Yet when we are told at the same time, and by the same authority, that "he was a very punctual and steady

" observer of the orders he received; but no con-
" triver of them:" and that " his modesty and
" diffidence of himself never suffered him to con-
" trive bold counsels," it is not to be forgotten, that, if ever there was a situation, in which " bold counsels," energetic measures, and prompt resolutions were likely to be required, it was that of the ill-fated Monarch at this critical juncture. It was indeed one of those, in which the hesitating deliberation of the " better judgement" may prove more disastrous, than the reckless precipitation of the weaker " understanding." Surely then it was no very blameably overweening presumption in Ashburnham on this, as on the former occasion, to entertain " no doubt, but that his presence " would be very acceptable to the king" (these are lord Clarendon's own words,) especially when having so lately found, as we are assured on the same authority, that he had not erred in a similar anticipation of his master's sentiments.

But the very time when, according to Berkeley, the offer was made by Hammond to Ashburnham, that he should exchange places with Berkeley, might alone justify the rejection of it. More than twenty-four hours had elapsed, since the king had despatched the bearers of this, perhaps fatal, message. Ashburnham therefore could not but be aware, that great must have been the king's impatience for their return; but not greater than his momentarily increasing danger from any additional delay, however trifling. Already was Berkeley in the castle; and himself mounted, and

actually on his way: short as might have been the time requisite for effecting this exchange, it was not, unless unavoidably, to be wasted: more especially, as it might have afforded occasion for another alteration of the governor's capricious will and pleasure.

Formidable as is the conclusion, that "the "whole weight of the prejudice and reproach cast "on Ashburnham" is deducible from his refusal, and Berkeley's offer, to remain with Hammond; these premises would not have been discussed so much at length, if opinions, not more unfavourable, than unjust, had been exclusively confined to judges, so little impartial as lord Clarendon, and so little unprejudiced as "most men." But, alas! it is not to be concealed, that there is undeniable evidence of an uncandid and uncharitable interpretation of Ashburnham's motives in a quarter, where such sentiments were least likely to be entertained. Sir Philip Warwick, in that part of his memoirs, which relates to his attendance on the king, when a prisoner in Carisbrook castle, says:—"I never had occasion but "once at the Isle of Wight to speak with the king "about this affair; and it was by an accident, in "the king's letting himself into that discourse: "and he did but touch upon it: nor durst I seem "to be more inquisitive. But when I mentioned, "that the world had an ill opinion of my friend, "Mr. Ashburnham's guiding him thither, I re-"member, he freely replied: 'I do no way believe, "'he was unfaithful to me; but I think, he wanted

" 'courage at that time,' (which I interpreted his " majesty meant his not staying with the governor) " 'whom I never knew wanted it before.' "*

If sir Philip Warwick here correctly interpreted his majesty's expressions, surely a more favourable judgement, as to the motives of Ashburnham's not staying with the governor, would have been more worthy both of him, who declared it; and of him, whom it condemned; more probable, as more rational: because more consonant with the character of each; such as they have been certified to us: that of the king on lord Clarendon's authority; and that of Ashburnham on the unimpeachable evidence of recorded facts. The king, who " ob- " served men long before he received them about " his person" had been not less than twenty years the gracious master of one, whom he has designated under his own hand " the most persecuted, " because the most faithful, of all his servants;"† when he called upon him to devise the plan and means of an escape, which, as we are well assured, that it " could not be contrived without wonderful " sagacity;" so we need not to be told, that it was not to be effected without a more than ordinary

* This very perceptible dislike of the king's to converse on the causes which led to his confinement, (so much as that Warwick dared not to betray his curiosity,) tends not to discountenance the notion, that his having entered into the preliminary communication with Hammond was his own spontaneous resolution. And indeed nothing more is drawn from him, than his exculpation of Ashburnham; on hearing, that the world had formed an ill opinion of his fidelity.

† See in the appendix the king's letter to the queen, dated from Newcastle.

firmness and courage. But even this proof of an unlimited reliance was vague and feeble compared with the one, afforded on a former occasion. When the king resolved secretly to withdraw himself from Oxford, surrounded as he there was, by many a gallant and loyal adherent, where was his characteristic judgement, his circumspection,—and where that slowly matured confidence, the late fruit of a deep-rooted observation, in trusting by preference and choice his royal person and fortunes, in so perilous an enterprize, to the *sole guidance, safe-guard and protection* of an individual, the intrepidity of whose devotion had not been tried, and approved, by tests more powerfully and surely decisive, than the equivocal criterion, by which Ashburnham's courage has been here estimated?

But, be it as it may;—whatever may have been Ashburnham's motives, happy has it been for his character, that he suffered himself to be swayed by them to the refusal of the demand, or to the rejection of the proposal, made to him by Hammond. They indeed, who have found in it a handy implement wherewith to "cast all the "weight of the prejudice and reproach upon him," would not the less have overwhelmed him with their foul aspersions, if, like Sir John Berkeley, he had "embraced the governor's motion most "readily." But then, far more arduous, if not hopeless, had been the task to exonerate him from the accumulated incumbrance. For, as it is, all, who, like the king, suspect, that he was on this occasion wanting in courage, must, like the king,

absolve him from all suspicion of having been deficient in fidelity. The decoy-duck fearlessly trusts herself under the tunnel with the decoy-man.—Why then should the traitor Ashburnham scruple to remain in Carisbrook castle; not the governor's prisoner, but the guest of his accomplice?

XI.

"Sir John Berkeley, shortly after the King's "being in the Isle of Wight, transported himself "into France, and remained still with the duke "of York, to the time of king Charles the second's "return, Mr. Ashburnham continued in Eng-"land, and so more liable to reproach."

From liability to reproach, "so" to be incurred, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Lindsay and Southampton were not solicitous to be exempt. On the contrary, as the constitutionally responsible advisers of a king, who can do no wrong, having first proffered in vain the vicarious sacrifice of their lives; and having then, as loyal subjects and faithful servants, paid the last duties to their sovereign and master, in such funeral rites, as the well grounded mistrust, suspicion, and fear of a rebellious usurpation dared to vouchsafe, they too thought, that by remaining at home they should best consult the interests of their king, the welfare of their country, and the maintenance of their own honour. Leaving to other ministers and great officers of state to grace the empty pageant, the "unreal mockery"

of a royal court; internally, distracted by cabal, and disgraced by profligacy; externally,* humiliated by neglect, and outraged by duplicity.

As soon as the king's attendants had been forced by the governor to quit the isle of Wight, sir John Berkeley relates in his memoir, that he suggested to Legge and Ashburnham the propriety of some one of them being despatched to the queen to inform her majesty of the recent occurrences. They who have obtained no further insight into Berkeley's character than such as is to be derived from the extracts given in this commentary, will perhaps as readily anticipate, as sir John himself had done, the results of this suggestion. Not only that it was instantly adopted, but followed up by the unanimous resolution that no one was so fit to perform this duty as he, who was known to rank so high in her majesty's estimation and confidence. If on the former occasion Berkeley was right in his conjecture, that "Mr. Ash-"burnham went with a better heart to horse" (which he might well do) than the one, with which sir John went over the drawbridge, with "the image of the gallows very perfectly before "him;" it is to be supposed, that the heart of the latter setting out on his return to his royal patroness's court had in its turn at least as great an advantage over that of the former. And it is here that Ashburnham's remark on sir John's offering

* The prince had been above two months with the queen his mother before any notice was taken of his being in France by the least message sent from the court to congratulate his arrival there.—Clarendon's Hist.

himself as the hostage, would have been better timed and more fairly applied, namely, that sir John's going on this mission "signified only a man's drawing his neck out of the collar." And a galling collar it proved to be. Legge and Ashburnham, according to the narrative of the latter, "being after near a quarter of a year's attendance "in the night upon the sea-shore, and the greatest "part thereof in the winter season, taken pri-"soners, &c." This fact rests not solely on his testimony: in point of time the severity of the service is by the most unquestionable documents shewn to have been underrated. It appears on the journals that the house on the 19th of May, being informed, that "Mr. Ashburnham and "colonel Legge were taken and apprehended "near Winchester park in the county of Hants, "it was ordered, that they should be forthwith "secured and committed to Windsor castle." And in the letters from the committee at Derby house to Hammond, notice is given of the discovery at Netley of preparations for the king's escape; where Ashburnham mentions horses for that purpose having been more than once provided.

XII.

"They were both of them great opiniators, yet "irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing "they had not thought of before; and exceed-"ingly undervalued each other's understanding; "but, as it usually falls out in men of that kind "of composition and talent, they were both dis-"posed to communicate more freely with, and

" consequently to be advised by new acquaint-
" ance, and men they had lately begun to know
" than old friends, &c."

From a partial resemblance, real or imaginary, in some particular quality, or propensity, to infer a general congeniality of character and disposition is an assumption less uncommon than unfair. It is thus that lord Clarendon's readers are taught to believe, that Berkeley and Ashburnham had, as it were, but one character between them. Whereas it may be shewn, and almost on lord Clarendon's authority alone, that they possessed in common absolutely nothing, but that noble and learned statesman's displeasure and disdain. These however were not in equal shares divided between them. Why the so evidently larger portion of the former was bestowed on Ashburnham is unaccounted for: but, that it was, (and undeservedly) so, has already been in some measure, and will hereafter be more fully demonstrated.

Of the king's affection for Ashburnham the history of the rebellion abounds with reiterated assurances: while the instances of the queen's partiality for Berkeley are not few. On the other hand it appears, that the queen's aversion to Ashburnham was even stronger than the king's dislike of Berkeley. So early as the 13th of March 1645, it may be seen in the intercepted letters published by the parliament, that the queen was urging the too uxorious monarch to " re-
" member what she had spoken to him concerning
" Jack Berkeley for master of the wards."

The king in his answer reminds her majesty that the place had been long destined for sir Edward Nicholas, who was then, and had been for many years, secretary of state. It was, however, according to lord Clarendon, afterwards given to the lord high treasurer, Cottington. Which facts sufficiently bespeak the situation, as one of high dignity and large emolument, to have been deemed the honourable meed, and liberal remuneration of long and meritorious services in the administration of government. And it was for such an office as this, that statesmen

———" old
" In bearded majesty"

found a competitor in one " little known to the " king, and that little not without some prejudice;" and of whom we are elsewhere told, that " he was " less known among those persons of honour and " quality, who had followed the king, being in a " very private station before the war, and his " post in it being in the farthest corner of the " kingdom, and not much spoken of, till the end " of it, when he was not beholden to reports." This intercepted letter may alone suffice to prove, that Berkeley's character has not been misrepresented, where we read—" Ambition and vanity " were well known to be predominant in him and " that he had a great confidence in himself."

" Sir John Berkeley (lord Clarendon's History is here quoted) " after his surrender of Exeter..... Vol. v. " waited upon the queen at Paris being still a p. 446. " menial servant to her majesty, and having a

"friend in that court that governed, and loved "him better than any body else did." This friend, and a more powerful one he could not have had, was the lord Jermyn, afterwards earl of St. Albans: who was at that time (according to the same authority) "the queen's chief officer, and governed "all her receipts, and he loved plenty so well, "that he would not be without it, whatever others "suffered. All who had any relation to the Prince, "were to implore his aid; and the prince himself could obtain nothing but by him; which "made most persons of honour of the English "nation who were driven into banishment, as "many of the nobility and chief gentry of the "kingdom then were, choose rather to make their "residence in any other place, as Caen, Rouen, "and the like," &c. Of the queen's favour, and of her chief officer's friendship, how well sir John knew to avail himself has been recorded in many a page of History.

Vol. v. p. 555.

How different Ashburnham's reception was at the same court,—is thus related by lord Clarendon. —Having been "driven from the king by the Scots "after he had conducted his majesty to them, he "had transported himself into France, and was "at this time residing at *Rouen*; having found, "upon his address to the queen at Paris upon his "first arrival, that his abode at some other place "would not be ungrateful to her majesty, and so "he removed to Rouen; where he had the society "of many,* who had served the king in the most "eminent qualifications."

Vol. v. p. 448.

* Among these were the lord treasurer Cottington, and the

So large a share of the king's favour and confidence, as that with which Ashburnham had long been honoured, was perhaps at no time the recommendation best calculated to ensure to him a gracious reception from the queen. But that he should at this juncture have experienced unequivocal proofs of her majesty's positive dislike may be thus accounted for. It appears, that, at the moment of his arrival at Paris, the queen, who had been for some time very urgent that the prince of Wales should quit the Isle of Jersey, and reside with her, had at length resolved to send thither the lords Digby and Jermyn with her absolute commands to that effect. This gave occasion to very warm debates between the lords of the queen's party, and the members of the prince's council, appointed by the king. Which ended in the latter's protesting strongly against that measure; and refusing, (until they should have received his majesty's pleasure,) to attend the prince. It is on this occasion, that lord Clarendon avows that which the reader will probably learn not without surprise, even though he may not have forgotten former similar instances of inadvertency and inconsistency; "Moreover, *Mr. Ashburnham's opinion*, which he "had delivered to the lord Capel, *wrought very* "*much upon them;* for that a man so entirely "trusted by the king, who had seen him as lately "as any body, should bring no directions from Vol. v. p. 405.

earl of Bristol and sir Edward Nicholas, secretaries of state; to whom was afterwards added sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer. Hist. of Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 22.

" his majesty to his son, and that *he should believe,* " that *it was fitter* for the prince to stay in Jersey " than to remove into France, till his majesty's " pleasure was better understood, *confirmed them* " *in the judgment,* they had delivered." The opinion here alluded to is as follows: Mr. Ashburn- " ham confesses to the lord Capel, that *he thought* " it very pernicious to the king, that the prince " should come into France in that conjuncture." Now what was this opinion, so delivered to the lord Capel? It was not a conjecture, as to what he fancied, that his majesty's inclination might probably be; but the confession of *his own opinion,* that it would be very pernicious to the king, if the prince were removed into France: and that he believed it was fitter for the prince to stay in Jersey. And of whom was this the " opinion;" which " wrought so much upon" the whole privy council; whereof sir Edward Hyde was a member; so as to have " *confirmed* them in the judg- " ment they had delivered?" It was that of an individual, heretofore known to lord Clarendon's readers, as the " king's market man:" as shallow a sycophant, as ever insinuated himself within the precincts of a royal bedchamber: and of whom they are in a very few pages after told, that, " though he had some ordinary craft in insinuating, " he was of no deep and piercing judgement to " discover what was not unwarily exposed." Yet, though " neither deep nor piercing," this judgement was the touchstone, on which an illustrious statesman assayed the metal of his own senti-

ments; and the authority, to which he submitted his own counsel to be approved, sanctioned, and ratified.

From the manner, in which the lord Capel is mentioned in the two passages above quoted, it may not perhaps be too presumptuous,—it cannot surely be absurd,—to avow a hope, in which it is so natural to indulge,—that this truly great man may by inference be considered as one of "those, "of greatest reputation,"* who are represented to have entertained of Ashburnham's honour and talents a less mean opinion, than that, which lord Clarendon is so often diligently labouring to establish; and not seldom incautiously co-operating to overthrow. Of these his patrons and champions the noble historian has in particular named the king; as also the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Southampton, the lord Culpepper, and sir Edward Nicholas.

To contrast with these we shall find the penates

* No prouder eulogium ever immortalized the name and character of a man than the one pronounced by Cromwell, when virtually passing sentence of death on the lord Capel. After some of the customary hypocritical canting about "his affection for the "public good outweighing his private friendship," he spoke the truth; when in the following words he said,—"he knew the "lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man "in England that would forsake the royal interest; that he had "great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many "friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as "he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn "in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the common-"wealth, he should give his vote against the petition."

Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 260.

of sir John Berkeley, (those tutelary *household-gods*, whom he served and worshipped,) to be carved out of other materials, or cast in other moulds. We are told, that at this time he (the would-be master of the wards!) "was still a menial "servant to her majesty:" but soon afterwards that he became the superior of the duke of York's family; having before been "sent by the queen "to wait upon his royal highness as governor in "the room of the lord Byron,"—"and called "himself, without any authority for it, 'Intendant "'des affaires de son Altesse royale;' had the ma-"nagement of all his receipts and disbursements; "and all the rest depended upon him." As for his friends; with the single exception of the lord Jermyn's comparative love of him, who according to lord Clarendon only "loved him better, than "any one else did," sir John seems to have been, like the hero of Lafontaine's Fable,

Vol. vi. p. 20-589.

"Un homme, qui s'aimait sans avoir de rivaux."

There can be no doubt, that among the principal causes, though not declared, which weighed with the chancellor in forming that judgment, so satisfactorily confirmed by the decisive opinion of a groom of the bedchamber, that the queen's wishes and commands for the prince of Wales' residing with her, could not be complied with, was her majesty's well known zeal for making converts to the catholic religion. That sir Edward Hyde was a staunch assertor, and powerful advocate of the established church, is not less notorious: but that Ashburnham, an obscure individual, save when the malevolence of his detractors throws a false

light on his character, was not less ardent and sincere in his devotion to it, is a truth, which nothing but the course observed in this vindication could have brought into notice. Berkeley, when speaking of the treaty in negotiation between the king and the Scots commissioners, says,—"But "Mr. Ashburnham refined much upon several ex- "pressions of the articles, that concerned the cove- "nant and church of England; of which he was "a great professor." That he was no little performer of that, which he so greatly professed, will be elsewhere demonstrated. On the contrary, Burnet affirms of the lord Berkeley, that "he "seemed to lean to popery." That there was no deception in this apparent leaning the uninterrupted support of the queen, and that of the duke of York, which continued the same, through a period of thirty years, to the time of his death in 1678 are irrefragable proofs. To the efficacious influence of this well cultivated and exuberant patronage are to be ascribed in 1658 his elevation to the peerage: at the restoration, his admission into the privy council, with the office of comptroller of the household: and in 1669 his appointment to the lieutenancy of Ireland. On which occasion Burnet has observed, that; "he was a "man in whom it appeared with how little true "judgment courts distribute favours, and honours. "He had a positive way of undertaking, and de- "termining in every thing: but was a very weak "man; and not incorrupt." Nor did he reach the goal of his successful career, until he had been sent embassador to the court of France.

Far different were the retributory honours, and compensating emoluments, which fell to the share of Ashburnham on the restoration of that monarchy, to which he had contributed, as he had before done in defence of it. These were; the reinstatement as groom of the bedchamber, to which he had been appointed in the year 1627, early in the preceding reign: and the tardy, piece-meal, repayment of "sums of money," (admitted by lord Clarendon to have been "considerable"), with which, at the hazard of his life, as well as of his fortune, he had supplied his necessitous and expatriated king.

More than enough has been adduced to shew how essentially and universally different from each other must have been these two characters, which lord Clarendon has so strangely assimilated. Yet there is one more instance to be added, which has not been reserved, for the climax of the contrast, but on account of its applicability to a consideration of more importance. It may be seen in the History of the Rebellion, that soon after the accession of king Charles the second to all that remained of regal inheritance, its style and title,—his majesty resolved to appoint a new council. When "the queen very earnestly pressed the king, "that sir John Berkeley might likewise be made "a counsellor; which his majesty would not con- "sent to; ..... Berkeley took this refusal very "heavily, ... confidently insisted upon a right "he had, by a promise of the late king, to be "master of the wards; and that officer had usu- "ally been of the privy council ..... He pressed

Vol. vi. p. 562-3.

"the chancellor of the exchequer to urge this "matter of right to the king, and said, the queen "would declare, that the (late) king had promised "it to her." Lord Clarendon proceeds to say, that "he had at that time much kindness for him, "and did really desire to oblige him, but he durst "not urge that for a reason to the king, which "could be none;" and which, he knew, "had no "foundation in truth..... and told him, that "the king could not at this time do a more ungra- "cious thing, that would lose him more the hearts "and affections of the nobility and gentry of "England, than in making a master of the wards, "....and insisting on that part of his preroga- "tive, which his father had consented to part with." Sir John, dissatisfied with so very insufficient a reason, resolved, that "since his friends would "not, he would himself require justice of the "king." To whom, being "in the next room," he immediately went, and "pressed his majesty to "make good the promise his father had made; "and magnified the services he had done..... "The king, who knew him very well, and believed "little of his history, and less of his father's pro- "mise, was willing rather to reclaim him from his "importunity, than to give him a positive denial, "..... lest it might indispose his mother, or "his brother." But finding, that this would not prevail, "at last the king, which he used not to do "in such cases, gave him a positive denial, and "reprehension at once." Berkeley, imputing the whole of this failure to lord Clarendon, reproached him with it; and ended with telling him, "that

"from henceforward he might not expect any "friendship from him!" Many years after this sir John proved himself to be much more than, what is commonly called, as good as his word.* In a letter of lord Cornbury's of the 8th December 1667, on his father, lord Clarendon's quitting the kingdom, addressed to the duke of Ormond, is the following passage: "One thing I must not "omit telling your grace, which is, that lord "Berkeley very industriously spreads abroad a "rumour, that, to his knowledge your grace hath "broken all friendship with my father for above "these two years: which I am sure a better au- "thority than his cannot make me believe. Your "grace hath too much generosity to abandon one, "whom you have long protected, without telling "him of it." It must be superfluous to add, that the duke in his answer denied, that there had ever been grounds for the fabrication of so foul a calumny.

It may be equally superfluous to observe, that if at this moment the feelings of Clarendon were susceptible of still further excitement, malevolence never was more ingeniously exercised in the application of additional torture, than when Berkeley thus circulated a rumour that the recently dismissed chancellor had been previously abandoned by the duke of Ormond.

Be it here recalled that while Berkeley was thus

* The first opportunity which presented for any marked display of Berkeley's malevolence was on the occasion of the duke of York's intrigue and subsequent marriage with the chancellor's daughter. Continuation of Life, vol. iii. p. 374, et seq.

basely intent on the rancorous gratification of an unprovoked malignity, Ashburnham has been seen fearlessly continuing to pay the voluntary tribute of undiminished homage, and unshaken attachment to a meritorious statesman, now become the persecuted prey of factious virulence; the sport of popular delusion; and the victim of royal turpitude. To what causes then are to be attributed the inveteracy of lord Clarendon's ill will towards the latter: and the propensity to his more lenient judgement, and favourable opinion of the former, equally manifest, and equally unaccounted for? It is true, that in speaking of Berkeley singly and separately, he is not sparing of positive invectives; yet, in the details of his relation, comparison is never instituted but to the premeditated disadvantage of Ashburnham.

Nothing can appear more strange and unnatural, than lord Clarendon's partiality for Berkeley, when we consider the above-noticed atrocious and unpardonable intent to outrage his feelings, and to blast his reputation. The chancellor's original predilection could not but have been much impaired, as we are told, that it was, by Berkeley's indecent and insulting application, that he would join in urging on the king a plea which he knew to be most untrue, for the purpose of placing him in a situation, for which he knew him to be most unfit. Nor could the force of the affront have been mitigated by his subsequently betraying a nature, so selfishly vile, as that the better to secure to himself a seat at the Council Board, he would not have scrupled to expose to greater jeopardy the

precarious restoration of the king to his hereditary throne.

To counterbalance such disgusting enormities where are the offensive depravities to weigh down the opponent scale?

There can be no doubt, that lord Clarendon without entreaty, exhortation or appeal would have had the candour freely to impart, whatever had come to his knowledge respecting Ashburnham more culpable than has been set forth in the History of "the Invasion of the Chancellor of "the Exchequer's Office;" more despicable than has been told in the Tale of "the King and the "Market Man:" or more ridiculous than has been recounted in "that pleasant story much "spoken of in the court;" which administered "some mirth;"—the pleasantry of which mainly consists in describing, when the lord Capel and Ashburnham were sent by the king to borrow money, how the latter was taken for an impostor; and how, "after an ill supper, he was shewed an "indifferent bed." Great must surely be the dearth of fact, and "lack of argument," when frequent recourse is had to sarcastic ridicule, and contumelious disparagement; to disingenuous construction and slanderous insinuation.

Hist. vol. iii. p. 246.

"Sed aliud est maledicere, aliud accusare. Ac-
"cusatio crimen desiderat, rem ut definiat, homi-
"nem ut notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet.
"Maledictio autem nihil habet propositi præter
"contumeliam."

(Cic: Orat: pro M: Cœlio.)

XIII.

"Ashburnham was not afterwards called in (a)
"question for being instrumental in the king's
"going away:—but lived unquestioned long after (b)
"in the sight of the parliament, and in conver-
"sation with some of the army who had most
"deceived him."

"And, which was more censured than all the (c)
"rest, after the murder of the king he compound-
"ed, as was reported, at an easy rate:—

"And lived at ease and grew rich for many (d)
"years together without interruption."

It is possible, and therefore it shall be presumed, that lord Clarendon was ignorant of all, and each, of these allegations being utterly false. But that, which it is impossible to admit is, that he should not be aware that collectively, or separately considered, such data could lead to no other conclusion, than that Ashburnham was favoured by those men, who had put to death the king; of whom he pretended to be the eminently loyal subject and faithful servant; and who had destroyed both in church and state the constitution, of which he professed himself an ardent admirer and zealous assertor. Nor can he be supposed to have been unconscious, that the only conviction which can result from that conclusion will necessarily be, that to have been so favoured, Ashburnham must have been guilty of the foulest treachery and the

blackest ingratitude, that ever merited the execration of mankind.

Equally impossible is it to reconcile on this occasion, (as on many others,) the noble historian's practice with his theory, or his performances with his professions. Where, than in the paragraph, which forms the Thesis of the present disquisition, or indeed throughout the relation, from which it is extracted, can be found a stronger instance of disregard, and violation of that maxim, for the observance of which, on another occasion, the illustrious moralist thus seems to apologize?

Hist. vol. v. p. 383-4.

"Mons. Montrevil was a person utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourse or correspondence with him; so that what I shall say of him cannot proceed from affection or prejudice, nor if I shall say any thing for his vindication from those reproaches, which he did, and does lie under..... I say, if what I here set down of that transaction shall appear some vindication of that gentleman from those *imputations under which his memory remains blasted*, it can be imputed only to *the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserved in history as the very soul of it, towards all persons who come to be mentioned in it*..... I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to clear him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charged, and *to make a candid interpretation of those actions, which appear to have resulted from ingenuity, and upright intentions, how unsuccessful soever.*"

How can it be said that Ashburnham "was not (a)
"called in question" for being instrumental in the king's going away, when the following facts are verified upon paramount authority?

Commons Journals, 12th November 1647.

"Ordered—John Ashburnham to be sent for in "safe custody, upon suspicion of being privy to "the king's escape."

Nov. 15.

"To be sent for as a delinquent."

That these orders were not carried into execution was owing to the king's formal protest, and Hammond's earnest remonstrance, as may be seen in his letter, to the speaker, against the measure, as a breach of good faith and a violation of express engagement. But that, however suspended, they were never revoked, or cancelled, and that on Ashburnham's being driven from his attendance on the king in the Isle of Wight, and thereby deprived of all protection on account of Hammond's promises, they revived, is evident from the following entry on the Journals.

May 19, 1648.

"The house on being informed, that Mr. Ash-"burnham and colonel Legge were taken and "apprehended, ordered: that they should be forth-"with secured and committed to Windsor Castle."

Now for what reason could Ashburnham have been thus both "taken and apprehended," but for being instrumental in the king's going away? It does not appear that he had ever, before or since, committed any highway robbery; or indeed burglary; with the sole exception of that metapho-

rically felonious breaking open of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Office. If it was not long, before he regained his liberty, the cause and manner of effecting it are proofs of any thing, rather than of favour and indulgence, on the part of those into whose power he had fallen.

"Commons Journals, July 1, 1648.

"Ordered: The general to offer an exchange "of the lord Capel's son for sir William Massam." —This offer was rejected by the lord Goring; who commanded the royal army. Then comes the resolution of

"July 10th. That Mr. John Ashburnham a pri- "soner by order of the house be forthwith "exchanged for sir William Massam, *and the* "*gentlemen of the Committee of Essex*, now pri- "soners in Colchester."

That the same was carried into effect, but not readily, Rushworth has thus recorded.

"August 7th, 1648.—Sir William Massam was "this day exchanged for Mr. Ashburnham; the "most considerable prisoner in the kingdom."*

In the more detailed account of this transaction in Ashburnham's narrative, which is here submitted, there will be found nothing, that is not in

* It is passing strange, that one, whom we know, on the authority of lord Clarendon, to have been nothing more than a groom of the bedchamber, should have been looked upon as "the most considerable prisoner in the kingdom," and as such, have been in exchange as well worth a major general, (being moreover a knight,) and a whole committee of Essex squires, as a sovereign is now equivalent to a half-sovereign in gold and ten shillings in silver.

strict accord with the foregoing authenticated facts.

"By his majesty's great favour in writing to "those honourable and faithful persons in Col- "chester, and by their submission to his majesty's "pleasure, and friendly inclinations towards me, "I was exchanged for sir William Massam: but "with this condition; that I should depart the "kingdom in two months; and in the mean time "to continue at my house in Sussex, and not to "come nearer London. So very rigid and severe "the parliament and army were to me. With one "of which, or both, it had been thought, I kept "an unworthy and disloyal correspondence."

Lord Clarendon in noticing the several resolutions of the house of commons, preparatory to the treaty of Newport, has given the following. "That "all those persons, who were named by the king, "should have free liberty to repair to him, and to "remain with him." But he has thought proper to omit one of these resolutions, by which it appears that of all those persons so named, amounting to forty-six in number, two only were refused.

"August 30th, 1648.

"The question being put for giving liberty to "Mr. John Ashburnham and Mr. William Legge "to go the king to attend him during the time "of the treaty, it passed in the negative: Mr. "John Ashburnham standing in the first excep- "tion from pardon: and Mr. William Legge be- "ing under restraint."*

* It may not be irrelevant to notice the difference between the two reasons, here distinctly assigned for this refusal. With

This exception may not have been designedly omitted by lord Clarendon; although he is so far circumstantial in his relation, as to state, that on the king's list of those of "his servants, which he "desired might be admitted to come to him, were "the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hert-"ford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey all "four gentlemen of his bedchamber. He named "likewise all the other servants, whose attendance "he desired in their several offices.*" The notorious fact of Ashburnham's having been taken prisoner shortly after his expulsion from the Isle of Wight, and the stipulations on which his exchange was effected, may also have escaped the noble historian's memory: certain however it is, that but for these omissions he never could have asserted, that "Ashburnham was not afterwards "called in question for being instrumental in "the king's going away, but lived unquestioned "long after in the sight of the parliament."

Hist. vol. vi. p. 108.

(b) As for Ashburnham's having "lived in conver-"sation with some of the officers of the army," it could only have been with those, whose natures were the most christianly charitable. Because five years of the interregnum were passed

respect to Legge, it is because he is still a prisoner: with respect to Ashburnham, who had been liberated on exchange, it is because "he was in the first exception from pardon." Which throws no discredit at least on his stating, that a condition of his exchange was that he should depart the kingdom in two months.

* The names of each of these servants, as well as the bishops and king's chaplains, and law officers of the crown may be seen in the Commons' Journals.

by him in close imprisonment in the Tower;* and three in Guernsey Castle. Thus however eight years out of the period of somewhat more than eleven years are accounted for. In what manner the remainder was passed by Ashburnham, he has in that part of his Narrative where he replies to the objections made to his having remained in England after concluding his composition, thus supplied—"First I was followed so close with "actions of forty-four thousand pounds for mo- "nies I stood engaged for his late majesty, that "it was utterly impossible for me to stir from "hence: in the next place I was for the space of "three years so persecuted by committees to dis- "cover who had lent the king any money during "the war as I had scarce time to eat my bread. "In which examination, it must be granted, that "I was equally careful of other men's preservation "with my own."

* Even lord Clarendon himself (not very consistently with the above account either that Ashburnham "lived unquestioned" or "lived at ease") has certified, that Ashburnham "was com- "mitted to the Tower by Cromwell, where he remained till his "death."

The cause of this his last imprisonment is thus recorded in Whitelock's Memorials.

"June 7, 1654.—Upon the examination of the plot against "the lord protector and his government it appears that the "conspirators intended to assassinate the protector and some "chief persons in the government and to proclaim the king, "with pardon to all except three persons.

"Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and two of his brothers, colonel Ash- "burnham and Mr. John Ashburnham with several others are "under custody for it. And addition made to the guards at the "Tower."

Now admitting, that under these circumstances the whole of Ashburnham's leisure was passed "in conversation with some of the officers of the "army," until it shall be ascertained, who these officers were, there can be here no sufficient foundation, on which to raise even a suspicion of treachery. Mrs. Hutchinson in her Memoirs says that, "while at Hampton Court, the king had "gained over some of the officers of the army." This is confirmed by lord Clarendon in these words:—"There were some officers, who would "have been glad, that the king might have been "restored by the army, for the preferments, which "they expected might fall to their share."

But there were others actuated by purer motives to resume their native allegiance: in whom a sense of honour and of good faith, as well as of loyalty, had never been extinct.

Among these the noble historian has thus particularly noticed major Huntington, as—"one of "the best officers they had; and major to Crom- "well's own regiment of horse, upon whom he "relied upon any enterprize of importance more "than upon any man, &c.—Huntington, when he "observed Cromwell to grow colder in his expres- "sions for the king than he had formerly been, "expostulated with him in very sharp terms for "'abusing him, and making him the instrument to "cozen the king,' &c." "In a short time after he "gave up his commission, and would serve no "longer in the army."

Hist. vol. v. p. 484.

To which notices the noble historian might have added one of still greater importance, which makes

the omission of it the more strange. Soon after this resignation, Huntington presented to the house of lords—"a charge of high treason against "lieutenant general Cromwell; making oath be- "fore the lords, that what he had affirmed in this "charge, as of his own knowledge, was true: and "what upon hearsay, he believed could be attest- "ed." This charge was read by the lords; and by them sent down to the commons. But Crom- well's party, apprized in time, contrived to prevent the message from being received. Nothing there- fore appears in the Commons Journals on this subject. Huntington on finding himself thus ex- cluded, made his appeal to the public by printing: —"Sundry reasons inducing major Huntington "to lay down his commission; humbly presented "to the honourable houses of parliament."* Of which two editions (according to the parliamen- tary history) were printed on the same day.

But there is a subsequent mention made of Huntington, which, in point of time, is still more applicable to the present argument. Speaking of a time previous to Monk's tardy declaration in favour of the crown, lord Clarendon says—"Some of "the officers of the army, as Ingoldsby, and Hun- "tington, made tender of their services to the "king."

There was also colonel Cook. Who wrote— "Certain passages, which happened at Newport

* These "sundry reasons" are given at length in the Lords' Journals as entered on the second of August 1648, as well as the proceedings of the house thereon, on the third, fourth and fifth of the same month.

" in the Isle of Wight Nov. 29, 1648: relating to " king Charles I. written by Mr. Edward Cook of " Highnam in Gloucestershire; some time colonel " of a regiment under Oliver Cromwell."* The author declares, that this account was drawn up in pursuance of the king's injunctions; who at parting from the duke of Richmond, when on his way to Hurst Castle, said: " Remember me to my " lord Lindsay, and to colonel Cook: and com- " mand Cook from me never to forget the passages " of this night." Cook further adds, that he drew up this Narrative, with the approbation and assistance of the duke of Richmond and earl of Lindsay, " while all the passages were ripe in their memo- " ries."

Lastly there was Fairfax himself. Of whom the noble historian has truly said, that—" he wished " nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed " to bring it all to pass." When at length, but not till after the execution of the king, he had discovered whose army it really was, of which he had so long mistaken himself to be the general, Fairfax was among the first and most zealous for

* This Narrative was published in 1690 with a preface written by Dr. Tennison; afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; as he himself told bishop Kennet. (See a note in Kennet's History of England, vol. iv, p. 178.)

The Narrative (which may be found in Rushworth's Collections, vol. vii. part iv. ch. 34) relates very circumstantially the earnest entreaties and arguments vainly urged by the duke of Richmond and the earl of Lindsay, to induce the king to make his escape: within a few hours previous to his being carried off to Hurst Castle: as well as the practical proof, given by Cook, of the facility, with which he could have accomplished it.

the restoration of monarchy. To have "lived" therefore "in conversation with officers of the "army," such as these, could not have been injurious to the king's interests, or to Ashburnham's honour.

On the contrary, if other faithful adherents to the royal cause beside him had not lived in similar conversation, the monarchy had never been restored.

"He compounded, (as was reported,) at an "easy rate." (c)

"They say"—"most Men thought"—"As was "reported," &c.

Such are the parentheses, or expletives, by which the peremptory tone of positive assertion is in the History of the Rebellion not unfrequently mitigated. Their effect however is but transient. The human memory, like the law "de minimis non "curat." It is a sieve, in which the grain alone is likely to be retained, while the chaff is sure to escape. But then all the other averments, not so qualified, obtain by the contrast additional force: because the distinction implies a rigid scrupulosity as to the admission of facts on the writer's own authority.

A parenthesis is in Johnson's Dictionary defined to be "a sentence so included in another sentence, "as that it may be taken out without injuring the "sense of that which encloses it." Rapin, whose uniform omissions betray the want, not of advertency, but of candour, is evidently of opinion, that the taking out of the part, so far from injuring,

greatly benefits the sense of the whole. How far he has availed himself of the licence so granted, the following passage affords one more notable instance.—"Supposing no treachery in what Ash-"burnham did, probably his easiness to be de-"ceived procured him afterwards *a very favour-*"*able and much lower than usual, composition:*"which greatly *contributed to encrease* the suspi-"cions, already conceived, against him."

Were there no means, by which the refutation of this calumny could be attempted, its context alone carries with it internal evidence sufficient for self-conviction. Is it credible, that a man's purse should be spared by those, who, according to lord Clarendon, imprisoned his person, and desired his death? Ashburnham in his Narrative says:—"In the prosecution of my composition I "found, that no less than the one half of my little "estate would be accepted: though there was no "precedent for the like amongst all those, who "had the honour to serve the king in his wars: "nor hath there been since any man, who was "admitted to composition, that hath had the same "measure." Now when we are assured on the highest authority, that this, "his Apology, or Nar-"ration, was given in writing to such of his friends, "in whose opinion he most desired to be absolv-ed:" when we are further told, that those, in whose opinion he was much more than absolved, were "those of the greatest reputation; as the marquis "of Hertford and the earl of Southampton;" when we are told, that these illustrious person-ages also remained at home; and must therefore

have been the better informed as to domestic transactions: and when we are lastly told, that his apology was submitted to the perusal and consideration of lord Clarendon himself, it is not to be supposed, that he could have dared to advance a falsity, which all his contemporaries were able, and too many of them willing, to detect, and expose.

For the same reason it is equally unlikely, that he should have ventured to state himself to have passed eight years in close confinement, unless the fact had been really so. If therefore he "lived "at ease for many years together, without inter- "ruption," it can only prove a degree of commodiousness in the gaols, and of urbanity in the gaolers of that day, highly creditable to republican philanthropy.

The assertion, that Ashburnham besides living at ease "grew rich for many years together" can, as matter of reproach, have reference only to years antecedent to the restoration: certainly not to those immediately subsequent to that epoch. Because, at the man, *then*, "more censured than all "the rest," as most censurable; not so much for growing gradually, but for at once, as though by creation, becoming rich, the lord chancellor of that day could hardly have cast the first stone: at least it would not have been a fragment from among those, which, first destined for the rebuilding of the cathedral, had been removed from St. Paul's church yard to that more elevated site, where speedily arose a mansion, which so well qualified and critical a judge as Evelyn pronounced (d)

to be of all, that he had anywhere seen, the most complete and sumptuous.

Whether Ashburnham ever "grew rich, as was "reported," may be a question; but, if he did, whether he afterwards became poor, is no question at all. It appears from his will, that he had mortgaged the estates in Bedfordshire; not, as has been said, "granted to him by Charles the second "as a *reward* for the faithful* services, which he "had rendered to that monarch, and his father:" for, those faithful services were "left"—

"To point a moral,"

which teaches, that, "virtue is its own reward;" but as a repaying, by instalments, of those "con-"siderable sums of money," with which he successively supplied his two sovereigns in their utmost need. From the same document a further criterion, to judge of his accumulated wealth, may be found by his having directed, that not more than two hundred pounds a year be allowed to his grandson and heir, until he should have attained the age of twenty-four years: and by having further directed, that all the money which could be saved out of the proceeds of his estate, should be applied, when possible, to the repurchasing of lands, formerly belonging to his ancestors, which his father had been obliged to sell.

XIV.

"His remaining in England was upon the mar-"riage of a lady, by whom he had a great fortune,

* Lysons' Magna Britannia: Bedfordshire.

" and many conveniences; which would have been " seized by his leaving the kingdom."

If there were truth in this averment, which assumes the semblance of defence, it would not be less injurious to Ashburnham's character, than any one of the undisguised attacks would have been, if not repelled and defeated. If he remained in England on account of a marriage, it must have been one recently contracted; either during the latter period of his sovereign's unparalleled sufferings, or immediately after their unprecedented consummation; with which alone terminated the uninterrupted course of favour, kindness, and " affec- " tion," which for more than twenty years, and through all vicissitude of fortune, he had uniformly experienced from that most gracious master. From such premises no other conclusion can be drawn, than that, under these circumstances, Ashburnham's thoughts were wholly absorbed in the sole contemplation of those " many conveniences," to be secured by marrying a lady possessed of " a great fortune." At the bare idea of such abject and heartless selfishness, who is not tempted to exclaim in the words of the indignant prophet— " Is this a time to receive money, and to receive " garments, and olive yards, and vineyards, and " sheep, and oxen, and men servants, and maid " servants?"

How very differently Ashburnham's thoughts were employed, his time passed, and his services directed, he has described in his narrative. The details of which will throughout be found conso-

nant with facts certified and recorded by the most unquestionable authorities. Such are Rushworth's Collections, Whitelock's Memorials, and above all the Journals of Parliament.

It is true, that Ashburnham was twice married, but it is not less true, that neither of these marriages can account for his remaining in England: much less from the dread, lest the "great fortune "and many conveniences" should be "seized by "his leaving the kingdom:" for all property, which he possessed, had been long since sequestered.* His first wife Frances Holland,† the mother of his eight children, did not die till some time in the year 1650; consequently not till after more than twelve months had elapsed since the king's execution. His second wife was the relict of the lord Powlet. When this marriage took place is not known, but it is certain that she did not become a widow till the year 1649. The lady dowager Powlet was indeed an heiress; but being,

* Commons Journals 14 Septr. 1643. "Resolved—that the "estate of Mr. John Ashburnham shall be forthwith sequestered."

† Lords Journals Dec. 3: 1646.

"Read the petition of Mrs. Ashburnham desiring some main-"tenance may be allowed her out of her husband's estate for "herself and her children.

"Ordered: To be sent to the House of Commons with re-"commendations."

"Commons Journals Dec: 7: 1646

"Ordered: That Mrs. Frances Ashburnham's petition be read "on Saturday morning next."

It does not appear that it was read on that, or any other day: and there can be little doubt, that it never was read.

also the joyful mother of children* by her first lord, the "conveniences," which she brought to her second, were probably not quite so "many," or at least not of so permanent a nature, as hitherto lord Clarendon's readers may naturally have supposed.

XV.

"Mr. Ashburnham had so great a detestation "of the Scots, that he expected no good from "their fraternity, the presbyterians of the city; "and *did really believe* that if his majesty should "put himself into their hands, as was advised by "many, with the purpose that he should be there "concealed, till some favourable conjuncture "should offer itself, (for nobody imagined that, "upon his arrival there, the city would have de-"clared for him, and have entered into a contest "with that army which had so lately subdued "them,) the security of such an escape was not "to be relied on, and *very earnestly dissuaded his* "*master from entertaining the thought of it.*"

Whenever the illustrious author of the History of the Rebellion honours Ashburnham with his notice, (and it is not seldom,) the powers of his memory seem for a time to be suspended under the paralyzing influence of some magic spell. So far was Ashburnham from having "*dissuaded* his

* John Ashburnham's eldest son married one of the lord Powlet's daughters. But as she had at least one brother, it is not probable, that the fortune, which her husband had by her was great, or the conveniences many.

"master from entertaining the thought of putting "himself into the hands of the Scots and their "fraternity the presbyterians of London," that he was the first to *suggest and advise* that step. In that very narrative, which "the chancellor" deigned to peruse, he has declared, that, on receiving the king's positive command to contrive the plan of his escape, and to recommend the fittest place for his asylum, he in the first instance "took the freedom to offer to his (the king's) "consideration the trying, whether the Scots "commissioners, who were then at Hampton "court, and had made several overtures of their "service,* would meet his majesty the next day at "the lord mayor's house in London; (whither I "would undertake to carry him) and there declare "their whole nation to be satisfied with the king's "last answer to the propositions, delivered to him "at Hampton court; and to endeavour to make "all the presbyterian party in the city, over whom "they had then a strange influence, to acquiesce "in that answer." In this passage extracted from

* "In this general and illimited indulgence he (lord Capel) took "the opportunity to wait upon the king at Hampton court. ". . . . To the lord Capel his majesty imparted all his hopes "and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had again "made to him; and 'that he did really believe that it could not "be long before there would be a war between the two nations; "in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concur- "rence from all the presbyterians in England. . . . And there- "fore desired Capel to watch such a conjuncture and draw his "friends together'; which he promised to do effectually; and "did, very punctually, afterwards to the loss of his own life."

Clarendon's Hist. of the Reb. vol. v. p. 476-7.

Ashburnham's narrative all, that is essential to the purpose is confirmed and certified by his constant censurer and reviler, Berkeley; in the following words is found the absolute refutation of this the noble historian's so authoritative averment —"The Monday before" (that is to say before the Thursday evening, when the escape was effected) "Mr. Ashburnham and I went to the head "quarters, to desire passes to return beyond sea. "He asked me, what I thought of his majesty's "privately going to London, and appearing in the "house of lords? . . . . He *then*, asked me what I "thought of the Isle of Wight? I replied better "than of London."

XVI.

"There were some who said, that Ashburnham "resolved that the king should go to the Isle of "Wight, before he left Hampton court; and the "lord Langdale often said, &c. . . . And major "Huntington did affirm, that Mr. Ashburnham "did intend the king should go to the Isle of "Wight before he left Hampton court . . . *I am* "*not sure*, that Mr. Ashburnham had not the Isle "of Wight in his view from the time his majesty "thought it necessary to make an escape from the "army.

"Yet Mr. Ashburnham did constantly deny, "that he ever had any thought of the Isle of "Wight, when the king left Hampton court."

When Paulus Jovius was once reproached for some of those defamatory misrepresentations, by

which his history is too frequently disgraced, he is said to have replied, that it mattered not; because, when the men should be dead, all, which he had said of them, would be as much believed, as if it were true.* Far from lord Clarendon, while (in his "Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ") recording the meritorious, and criminal, actions of his contemporaries, and thus assigning to each that good or evil fame, by which he was to be known through all succeeding ages; far be the imputation of an indifference, and apathy to truth, little less censurable than a wilful and premeditated perversion of it. The prediction however of the Italian, with reference to his own writings, has been fully accomplished in those of the English historian. As a more peremptory and authoritative assertion was never made than this; that "Mr. Ashburnham "did constantly deny, that he had ever any thought "of the Isle of Wight, when the king left Hamp-"ton court," so a charge more utterly, and demonstrably false, in point of fact, however origi-

* The reckless indifference or rather heartless apathy, so unblushingly acknowledged by this right reverend and "jolly thriv-"ing" sycophant cannot be more strongly contrasted than with the ingenuous solicitude of the proscribed and persecuted exile; that he might be known to posterity, such as he had indeed been, not only the strenuous assertor, but the scrupulous observer also of truth and justice, even in the sublimest flights of poetical fiction.

"E s'io del Vero son timido Amico
"Temo di perder vita appo coloro,
"Che questo tempo chiameranno antico.

These lines may be regarded as the modest plea advanced by Dante for having placed in the "inferno" his instructor Brunetto Latini and others; who, but for their vices, were to him objects of respect and affection.

nating, has never been deliberately, or inadvertently, preferred. In this, as in so many similar instances, error shall be ascribed to failure of memory; not so much impaired by advanced age, as by accumulated sorrow, and increasing infirmity. But if here to suppose the operative and influential existence of a cause,—

—— "which must subdue at length"

all human faculties, be deemed so irreverent as to be inadmissible; then, as Bassanio says, (for there remains no alternative,)

"If this will not suffice, it must appear
"That malice bears down truth."

Since Ashburnham in his Narrative has not only *fearlessly avowed, but pertinaciously justified, the having advised that measure,* which lord Clarendon, (having duly premised that he had read the Narrative, and conferred at large with its author on the subject,) *positively affirms, that he did* "*constantly deny*," no other solution seems to present itself, by which these contradictions can be reconciled, than to suppose that there must have been two Narratives; materially differing from each other: and that the one, left for the satisfaction of his descendants, contains passages, which could not have been prudently inserted in the other, shewn to the lord chancellor, and "given in writing to such of his friends, in "whose opinions he most desired to be absolved."*

* That the Narrative now published is the same, which lord Clarendon read, the following proof is offered, as not unworthy

Such at least was for many years the humiliating conclusion, and painful apprehension of the writer of this Vindication: and such the reason for his having so long resisted public, as well as private, calls for the editing of his ancestor's Narrative. So deeply had he been impressed with inculcated veneration for the most authentic of historians, and the most virtuous of statesmen.* From this

of consideration, though it may not impress on other minds the same conviction which it has wrought on the Editor's.

The original rough draught of it in Ashburnham's own handwriting is yet preserved. Of which in different places perhaps nearly a fourth part has been blotted out. It is in quarto, and bound in a plain leather cover. There was also a copy of the same, fairly transcribed and without erasures by the same hand, on the same sized paper and in a similar binding; which disappeared about twenty years ago; before the custody of that heirloom devolved on the present representative of its author. But there are also two other copies evidently written by some practised amanuensis; both in folio, in vellum bindings, with gilt ornaments on the sides, and with gilt edging to the leaves. Of these the one was given as a present, and the other bequeathed as a legacy to the Editor's father.

These two facts together with the great distinction to be remarked between the two copies restored, and the other two which have always remained in the family, accord well with lord Clarendon's statement of Ashburnham's having given in writing his "Apology or Narration" to his friends.

These four copies having been carefully collated, the variation of a word has been occasionally discovered, but nowhere the slightest addition, omission, or difference in the substance of any one sentence.

* The Editor trusts that he has here fully redeemed the pledge, given in his introduction, to adduce such an unequivocal proof of his faith in Clarendon as perhaps not one of his numerous devotees can boast of having displayed.

severe mortification he has been relieved by the discovery of two documents, already made known to his readers by frequent references and extracts. The first of these is the "Memoirs of sir John "Berkeley;" who, in a passage lately quoted, most distinctly says, that before leaving Hampton Court, Ashburnham consulted him as to his opinion of the king's retiring to the Isle of Wight; and in subsequent allusions often mentions, and uniformly condemns the measure, as having been adopted at Ashburnham's recommendation. The other is entitled "a Letter from Mr. Ashburnham "to a Friend first published in the year 1648:" in which the policy of that step is strenuously contended for on the same grounds, as those subsequently maintained in "his Narrative." Having thus in the first instance committed, and laid himself at the mercy of Berkeley, who was his enemy; and in the second to that of the world, which was not his friend, to believe that he could ever have denied, (however much he might *be supposed* to have wished to deny,) the act, to which he had himself given so much notoriety, is to presuppose him to have been an idiot. Perhaps it may be said, that there is no difficulty in forming the supposition. The word indeed does not occur; as in truth it would little suit the dignity, or delicacy of the noble historian's sentiments, or language. But so frequent and unequivocal are the insinuations to that effect, that Ashburnham needs not to say, like Dogberry,—"Though it be not "written down, yet forget not, that I am an ass." To the coming however to so otherwise an easy,

and satisfactory conclusion, there is but one obstacle; and that is, the necessarily consequent sacrifice of much more important and interesting matter; of some of the most admired passages in the History of the Rebellion: namely the masterly drawn characters of the king; of sir John Colepepper; of the marquis of Hertford; of the earl of Southampton; of the lord Capel; of sir Edward Nicholas, and of sir Philip Warwick. Of all and each of whom Ashburnham is described by its noble author to have been honoured with the affection or the friendship; the confidence, or the good opinion. Even the portraits painted by the great artist of himself must lose much of their resemblance, when we behold him elsewhere, self-represented, as confirmed in his own judgement, on a question of great difficulty and delicacy, on finding, that it coincided with the declared opinion of this groom of the bedchamber: who "was of "no deep and piercing judgement to discover "what was not unwarily exposed."

Surely then good and sufficient evidence has been here adduced, that Ashburnham, (so far from having "constantly denied his ever having "had any thought of the Isle of Wight, when the "king left Hampton Court,") always avowed and justified the king's having retired thither, as a measure recommended, or suggested, by him to his royal master: further, that he could not have denied it, if he had ever desired so to do: and lastly, that, even if he had at any time wished to deny it, lord Clarendon himself has proved, that there was no reasonable inducement to entertain

any such wish. The reader will doubtless be here reminded of the noble historian's pathetic description of the intolerable misery of the king's condition; of his majesty's determined resolution at all risks to liberate himself from it by flight; and of the minute and accurate description of the state of the Isle of Wight; at that moment so differently circumstanced from all other places within the kingdom.

Well then might Ashburnham, in his letter published in 1648, within a few months after the transaction had taken place, make to the world the following declaration*—"I do still believe it "was, as his affairs then stood, the best of any "place, which he could make choice of. And I "will not be afraid to avow my opinion, because "success hath made it seem less reasonable. "Which being taken out of the scale, and all cir- "cumstances worthy debate before his departure "from Hampton Court considered, perhaps wiser

* Intentionally, or unintentionally, it is always the fate of Ashburnham to be misrepresented. Of the latter there is an instance in a note of Warburton's, who mistaking this printed letter for the manuscript Narrative, says—"It is very poorly "written: wholly employed in vindicating his own integrity "from the charge of betraying his master on corrupt motives, "without any account of the particulars of the transactions."

Worse than poorly written would his Narrative in truth have been, if, while the king was yet alive, it had contained the particulars of the transaction.

Another instance of certainly most unintentional misrepresentation has recently appeared in a note to Mr. Hallam's Constitutional History. Where he says—"I have been told, that in "the manuscript of Ashburnham, it is asserted, that he was in "previous correspondence with Hammond."

" men than those, who in that presumed to con-
" demn his majesty's judgement, may yet approve
" of that choice."

Well too might he repeat the same avowal and the same justification many years after (in that Narrative, which the noble and learned earl informs his readers, that he deigned to read, and to confer at large with its author on the subject,) thus:—" I did then* unfortunately in regard of
" the success, and not of the ill choice of the
" place, offer to their thoughts sir John Oglander's
" house in the Isle of Wight." And subsequently in another passage—" I do end thus, and I do
" hope to be justified by all ingenuous and consi-
" dering men, that it was not the king's remove
" from Hampton Court into the Isle of Wight,
" that brought the evil fate upon him (how cruelly
" and injuriously soever I have by unworthy and
" base detracting tongues been dealt with) for
" after his being there, he had by the entrance of
" duke Hamilton's army; by the insurrections in
" Kent, Essex, Wales, and Pomfret, far greater
" hopes of being restored, than ever he had, whilst
" in person in arms: adding besides all this, that
" he had a treaty there with the parliament per-
" sonally; a thing till then ever laboured for by
" his majesty, but still refused by them. But it

* " I did then"... that is, when the Scots commissioners had retracted their declared concurrence, and promised co-operation in the plan *suggested by Ashburnham*, but which lord Clarendon has been pleased to say that *he very earnestly dissuaded his master* to entertain the thought of, when advised by many to put himself into their hands.

" was the ill success of all these great attempts, " together with the jealousy of the army," &c.

Having thus proved that Ashburnham never attempted to deny, or sought to evade the charge here brought against him, it might be idle to examine the foundation on which so frail and flimsy a superstructure has been raised; or rather the buttresses here added for its support; were it not for the sake of illustrating antecedent observations, as to the wretched shifts and paltry expedients, both in point of fact and of argument, to which lord Clarendon is constrained to have recourse. The most material fact, by way of proof, which here occurs, is the lord Langdale's having " often said"—(which, if he ever did, it would have been for his own credit better that he never should have said) " that being in Mr. Ashburn- " ham's chamber at that time, he had the curiosity, " whilst the other went out of the room, to look " upon a paper that lay upon the table; in which " was writ, that it would be best for the king to " withdraw from the army, where he was in such " danger; and that the Isle of Wight would be a " good retreat, where colonel Hammond com- " manded; who was a very honest man." Lord Clarendon afterwards observes; " the lord Lang- " dale's relation of such a paper, which he himself " saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a " mere fiction; to which, besides that he was a " person of unblemished honour and veracity, he " had not any temptation: yet Mr. Ashburnham " did constantly deny, that he ever saw any " such paper." Now admitting this noble lord's

honour and veracity to be as unquestionable, and as unbounded as his curiosity, (and more highly rated they cannot be,) what are we here required to believe?—Not that he saw this paper in Ashburnham's hands: but saw it lying upon the table; and while he was out of the room. And what is it that Ashburnham denies? Not the existence of "any such paper," but his "ever having "seen it." There is then no contradiction in the two statements. And the probability is that, if Ashburnham had ever seen it, he would hardly have left it open upon the table of his room in Hampton Court; well knowing that he, and all attached to the king's person or service, were there exposed to many watchful, prying, and curious eyes; not to be so safely trusted, as those of the lord Langdale, who according to the noble historian, "had not any temptation:"—that is, excepting the one, which he states him to have been unable to resist.

The argument, worthy of the proof, on which it is raised, is the following,—"It is *not impossible*, "that *somebody*, who was trusted by them (the "officers of the army) if not one of themselves, "*might* mention the Isle of Wight, as a good "place to retire to, and colonel Hammond as a "man of good intentions; the minutes of which "discourse Mr. Ashburnham *might* keep by him." So indeed he might. So too might Lord Clarendon have kept by him, (and it would have been well if he had) a memorandum, whenever he should come to "a proper place for the ample "enlargement which Ashburnham's ill conduct

" in that so precious affair required" to insert, that this paper was in the groom of the bedchamber's own hand-writing: and another memorandum, to leave out, that he was absent, when the paper was found on his table. Because from the omission of the former, and from the admission of the latter circumstance, the fact constitutes no proof; the proof would establish no argument: and the argument would make out no case. Thus it is, that the elaborate reasoning of a wise man, when the truth is not in him, like " a tale told by " an idiot," ends in " signifying nothing."

If however Ashburnham ever kept these minutes at all, (for that he did so, is candidly suggested to be a mere possibility) there is a positive certainty of his having kept them by him for a long while: and further, (excepting in that solitary instance, when they were left so temptingly lying open on his table) of his having kept them to himself. For, so long as he had in Hampton Court " *his chamber* ;" in which he received visits from the lord Langdale, and a table, on which he laid his papers, Ashburnham must have been an inmate of the palace. It has been shewn how Whalley deposed, that Ashburnham withdrew his parole *three weeks* previously to the King's escape: and on the authority of Berkeley, as well as his own; how he was instantly (as it was natural that he should be) removed from all further attendance on his royal master. Now lord Clarendon has confidently asserted, that it was not till after the king had alighted at Titchfield house, saluted the noble and venerable dowager,

his " honoured hostess," and refreshed himself, that he summoned the council at which " the " Isle of Wight came to be *first* mentioned by " Ashburnham."

Still however Mr. Ashburnham *might* have kept these minutes; which somebody, if not himself, *might* have taken down. But then what a sieve, what a colander, of a memory must his have been, if he could not rely on it even for retaining the names of a person and of a place so (especially to him) familiar as those of colonel Hammond, and the Isle of Wight. Yet this is the man, by the noble historian himself pronounced to have been through a long series of years invariably most intrusted, consulted, and employed by a sovereign, whom he has characteristically panegyrised for sagacious discernment, and deliberate cautiousness in the choice of his confidential servants. (" He saw and observed men long " before he received them about his person.") This too is the man, known on the same authority to have been honoured with the favourable opinion, the considerate regard, and the attested reliance of those illustrious colleagues in administration, between whom and the earl of Clarendon it was the boast of the latter, that there subsisted congeniality of sentiment, unity of affection, and identity of principle: a reciprocal deference, and a mutual devotion.

Immediately after having affirmed, that " Ash- " burnham always denied his having so much as " thought of the Isle of Wight," lord Clarendon in the same paragraph adds, that " he never gave

"cause in the subsequent actions of his life to "have his fidelity suspected." It seems therefore, that the context here requires the word fidelity to be understood in the sense of veracity: with which it is not unfrequently synonymous.

But if the word is to be taken here in its more ordinary acceptation, it may be observed, that the specious candour of a general acquittal is well calculated to remove suspicion from the intrinsic unfairness of a particular charge, and to induce belief that liberality and ingenuousness abound, where in reality prejudice and malevolence prevail. Why should this absolution be only prospective, instead of being, as it more usually is, retrospective? Had Ashburnham ever given cause in the antecedent actions of his life to have his fidelity suspected? So far as lord Clarendon's knowledge extended, most certainly not. For a confident appeal may be made to every reader, whose patience has carried him thus far through this prolix and tedious Vindication, whether there can be a doubt, if any such instance had ever transpired, that the illustrious Author would have found the occasion, and means of introducing it, as opportunely, applicably, and relevantly, as many others, which add no embellishment to his so much admired History.

The ends of justice are more than attained, when the culprit's voluntary confession follows the clear conviction of his guilt. The cravings of injustice are not so easily appeased. Thus it has not been enough to arraign Ashburnham as the original projector, and sole contriver of a measure, the

nefarious purpose of which could have been no other than its fatal result; so obviously and inevitably necessary; "since nothing fell out, which "was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected," insomuch that "most men did believe there was "treason in the contrivance:" or else that it sprung from a presumption, less flagitious indeed, but not less unpardonable. Since with equal reason it must "have been looked upon by all "men as such a transcendant crime, as must "have deprived him of all compassion for the "worst that could befall him." Even this alternative is not sufficient. To the atrocity of having committed (from either motive) so transcendant a crime must be superadded the meanness of wishing, and the imbecility of attempting, to deny it. He must be held out to all succeeding ages, as an object of scorn as well as of abhorrence. He must for ever be both execrated, and despised.

XVII.

"If I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, "I should declare that neither of them were, in "any degree, corrupted in their loyalty or affec-"tion to the king, or suborned to gratify any "persons with a disservice to their master."

That a man, in the security which confidence and privacy inspire, should venture to disclose of his own accord those sentiments to an individual, which he would be loath publicly to reveal, is

rational, intelligible, and of frequent occurrence. But it is not so, that every body should be spontaneously told that, which, but from necessity, would be told to no one. Now what is the opinion which lord Clarendon would deliver, if he were so obliged, but that, which without such obligation, he has here declared? Surely this partakes largely of the nature, if it be not a fair specimen and happy illustration, of that figure of speech commonly called a bull.

It would be most unseasonably and impertinently trifling with the reader's patience to enter into a close examination of style, a careful dissection of phrases, and a curious analysis of words. It is therefore once more necessary to protest, that these remarks are directed to no such objects; but that they have in view the probable motives, and certain consequences, of an *imaginary* judgement pronounced on a *real* case. If in truth it was lord Clarendon's opinion that Ashburnham "was in no degree corrupted in his loyalty or "affection" to his royal master, why should he have recourse to hypothesis for declaring it: and why should the hypothesis be that of compulsion? Whatever is forcibly extorted must be parted with reluctantly. When through the scrupulous administration of humane laws some manifestly guilty felon escapes condign punishment, his acquittal may well be pronounced with reluctance, and heard with regret. But who ever felt, or, if he felt, avowed, reluctance or regret in declaring, that man to be innocent, whom in his conscience he believed to be so? From the noble Historian's

not having plainly, directly, unequivocally, and freely delivered his opinion in Ashburnham's favour no other inference can be drawn than, that not fully satisfied of his innocence, nor yet clearly convinced of his guilt, he charitably concedes the benefit of that doubt. But the sentiment, which a man hesitates to avow, can have little weight, when balanced against those which he has not scrupled positively to affirm. The airy phantasma of an hypothetical acquittal cannot counterpoise the solid materiality of a specifick charge. "No man can serve two masters." It is equally impossible for the same man both to believe lord Clarendon's statement, and to adopt his opinion. And as (with the exception of occasional parentheses, such as—"Most men thought,"—"As they say,"—and—"As was reported,"—) nothing can be more oracularly propounded than the criminating details of the former, an option is here presented, which can perplex no man.

It is evident, that those, who must have read the noble Historian's account with greater attention, as it best behoved them, than ordinary readers can be supposed to bestow on it, have experienced no embarrassment or hesitation in making their option. Hume, who unlike the compilers, transcribers, and abridgers of earlier histories, takes neither facts, nor notions, upon trust; but assays the coin, before he sanctions its currency, after having acknowledged lord Clarendon for his authority, is fully justified in determining, that "Ashburnham imprudently, *if not* "*treacherously*, brought Hammond to Titchfield."

From such data a more favourable deduction is not to be elicited.

Rapin, to whom lord Clarendon's History has been the quarry, from whence alone he drew the material for constructing his additions to the original fabrication, thus terminates his exaggerations and aggravations.—"When a man considers "all the circumstances of the king's flight, he can "scarce forbear thinking, he was betrayed on "this occasion"..... "and yet lord Clarendon "says very positively, he does not believe the king "was betrayed by Ashburnham. *All therefore* "*that can be said in favour* of this confidant of the "king is what the *lord Clarendon hints;* I mean, "that he was outwitted by Cromwell; who by "some one of his emissaries persuaded him it "should prove for his majesty's benefit, and his "business be the sooner done, that he should "withdraw to the Isle of Wight. If this were so, "Ashburnham probably thinking himself more "able than the king, had a mind to serve him, "*whether he would or no;* and not to be forced "to answer the king's objections, believed to do "him a service *in concealing the secret*, and "putting him under an absolute necessity to take "a course, which in his opinion was not the most "proper. In that case, if it be not treachery, it is "at least the greatest presumption and rashness a "subject can possibly be guilty of to his prince. "*It is not easy to guess the reasons that could* "*induce Ashburnham to imagine the king would* "*be safe in the Isle of Wight.* It is to be pre-"sumed, that he was deceived himself; and his

" easiness abused to cause him to credit general " promises, which signified nothing, and of which " he durst not afterwards complain. Supposing " no treachery in what he did, probably his easi- " ness to be deceived procured him afterwards *a* " *very favourable, and much lower than usual, com-* " *position* ; which greatly contributed to increase " the suspicions already conceived against him."

Among all the numerous items charged by Rapin there is not one, whose voucher is not to be found in lord Clarendon's accounts.

Already in more than one instance the remarks on some of the personages, particularly noticed in the History of the Rebellion, have been shewn to be equally applicable to its illustrious author. Here again a strong temptation occurs to venture on a similar transfer. In his " Life," speaking of the time when he first distinguished himself in parliament by his zealous and able support of government, much to the annoyance, and somewhat to the disappointment, of Hampden, Pym and the other leaders of the party in opposition to it, he says—" He was as much in their detestation " as any man ; and the more, that they could " take no advantage against him : *and though* " *they had a better opinion of his discretion than* " *to believe* he had any share in the advice of the " late proceedings, yet *they were very willing, that* " *others should believe it ; and made all infusions* " *they could to that purpose amongst those who* " *took their opinions from them.*"

Vol. i. p. 103.

Here the " mutatis mutandis" are but few. If for the name of Mr. Hyde, that of Ashburnham

be substituted; and Mr. Hyde's for those of his enemies; and that we read—any share in the *supposed guilt*, instead of "any share *in the advice* "*of the late proceedings*," the adaptation of the whole passage will be found more than paraphrastically exact. For, that Ashburnham "*was as* "*much in the chancellor's detestation as any man*;" and that "*no advantage against him could be* "*taken*," at least fairly, is evident from the many unfair attempts, too unsuccessfully made with the design of rendering that detestation universal. Nor is it in a few instances, "*a better opinion of* "*his discretion*" transpires, than the noble Historian shews himself very *willing that* others should believe him to have possessed. And as for *all infusions*,—the latest Pharmacopœia sanctions not the exhibition of any more certain of producing desired effects, than those prepared by lord Clarendon; though, like other compounders, it appears, that he was not in the habit of swallowing them himself. That they have powerfully operated on Rapin, and not slightly upon Hume, has been already shewn; but it is further curious to observe, how differently, according to the difference of constitution and temperament, they have affected two historians of more recent date; though in both cases with equal efficacy.

M. Bertrand de Moleville, himself too a statesman as well as an historian, who has ingeniously contrived to introduce in his "Chronological "Abridgement of the History of Great Britain" as much egotism as is anywhere to be found in the wide range of autobiography, concludes his Nar-

rative of this event thus.—" By this account, " *faithfully extracted from Clarendon's History of* " *the Rebellion,* it evidently appears, that the " king's escaping from Hampton Court, and his " retreating to the Isle of Wight, was nothing " but the complete execution of Cromwell's " scheme: for which Ashburnham the king's most " confidential secretary was his only employer,* " either *treacherously, as it might be easily evinced* " *from all the circumstances of this* fatal event, or " innocently according to the king's opinion: who " never entertained the least jealousy or suspicion " of it, and was convinced that Ashburnham had " been outwitted and grossly imposed upon by " Cromwell and Ireton: who had persuaded him " by great promises, that the scheme should prove " very beneficial for his majesty: whose opinion " in that respect is strongly supported by lord " Clarendon." Here the world is told, that it might be easily evinced from all the circumstances of this fatal event, faithfully† extracted from Clarendon's History, that Ashburnham was guilty of

* There is here evidently an error either of the press or of the translator. The word was probably in the original French " employé."

† " The manner in which this account has been " *faithfully* " *extracted,*" and all the circumstances stated, from which Ashburnham's guilt might be easily evinced, has been by commencing the quotation, duly distinguished by inverted commas, with—" The king resolved, as it will further appear, to cross " the sea; and one morning (November 11) he privately left " Hampton Court." Of this exordium not one word is to be found in Clarendon; but others of a very different import. And in the sequel every sentence, and in some instances parts of sentences most calculated to excite suspicion, or rather to remove all doubt of guilt, are printed in italics, a distinction not

treachery; though the noble Author supports the contrary opinion; a plain proof that his Excellency, the chronological abridger, found it more than difficult to discover the consistency between the chancellor's summing up and his decree; but very easy to determine which of the two was to be preferred.

On the contrary M. Villemain in his very interesting "Histoire de Cromwell," not less deservedly than universally admired, says:—"Clarendon "assure que Charles fut trahi par Ashburnham; "qui accompagnait sa fuite, et qui souvent avait "eu de secrets entretiens avec Cromwell:"—which shews that the *matter-of-fact statement of the case* had so exclusively fixed this author's attention, that the *hypothetically delivered opinion* escaped his notice.

In their respective interpretations therefore of Lord Clarendon's opinion the former of these writers is correct, the latter in error. But this error is more than redeemed by the annexed reflection.—"Mais on hésite avant de croire à "tant de bassesse; et il est plus facile de supposer "un zèle aveugle, trompé par ces fausses espe- "rances si naturelles aux confidens des Rois "malheureux."

Such is the observation with which this Commentary shall be closed: not because the subject is, but lest the patience of every reader should be, if

to be found in any edition of the original. While on the contrary all the facts and testimonies which lord Clarendon has admitted in favour at least of Ashburnham's general character, are wholly unnoticed.

it already be not, exhausted. It has been an invidious and irksome task, imposed by the sense of an imperious duty; not less reluctantly, than conscientiously, undertaken and prosecuted with an unceasing regret. Since the justification of an ancestor's misrepresented conduct, and the vindication of his outraged character, could only be effected by controverting, denying, refuting, on every material point in which he is concerned, this above all others most detailed relation, and elaborate exposition, of a transaction, which in importance yields to none comprized within the eventful " History of the Rebellion."

PART III.

In the foregoing Commentary, Hammond, though so prominent a figure in the group of conspirators, has only been incidentally noticed; and in truth little more than named: all the passages in lord Clarendon's History which bear any relation to him having been collectively reserved, to form the entire subject of a separate disquisition. For now, "major rerum mihi nascitur ordo;" the reader's attention will no longer be called to the decision of questions interesting alone to the descendants of John Ashburnham; such as whether the groom of the bedchamber was both knave and fool; which of the two he was the most; or whether really he was either the one, or the other. But reasons will be submitted to his judgment, to determine how far they may be entitled to any weight in discrediting the authenticity of certain facts, and the correctness of certain notions, which from an admission not less inconsiderately and obsequiously conceded, than rashly and imperatively exacted, have long since been as firmly, as universally, established.

To announce that the present purpose is not only to deny that there are any, so much as plausible, proofs or arguments, of Hammond's having been employed by Cromwell to seize and imprison

the king; but farther to contend, that there exists sufficient cause for the reverse of such a conclusion, must appear so extravagant, as to require from the Author a solemn protestation, that no "*historical doubts*" of his would thus be obtruded on the public, if he did not in his conscience believe these to be not only well founded, but the publication of them to be essential to the attainment of his only real, and only legitimate object; the vindication of his ancestor's character and conduct.

The credibility of Hammond's having been employed on the above mentioned commission rests solely on a foundation constructed of materials so loose and crumbling, as the following.

1. "Hammond was of nearest trust with Crom-
"well; having by his advice been married to a
"daughter of John Hampden."

2. "Hammond left the army but two or three
"days before the king's remove, and went to the
"Isle of Wight at a season, when there was no
"visible occasion to draw him thither."

3. "Cromwell within two days informed the
"house of commons, 'that he had received letters
"'from colonel Hammond, of all the manner of
"'the king's coming to the Isle of Wight, and the
"'company that came with him; that he remained
"'there in the castle of Carisbrook, till the plea-
"'sure of the parliament should be known.' He
"assured them, 'that colonel Hammond was so
"'honest a man, and so much devoted to their
"'service, that they need have no jealousy that he
"'might be corrupted by any body;' and all this

" relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that " all men concluded that the king was where he " wished he should be."

I.

" Hammond was of nearest trust with Crom- " well; having by his advice been married to a " daughter of John Hampden."

Surely in a case like this, above all others, it is by the party who takes, and not by the one who gives the advice, that confidence in the other is unequivocally evinced. Here there is ample proof of Hammond's having been intimately and familiarly known to Cromwell; but none at all of his having been " of nearest trust" with him.

Were it however granted, that Hammond had been " of nearest trust with Cromwell," the admission would be of no avail in furthering our progress towards the point proposed. A general agency, however confidential, will not prove a particular commission, any more than a man's being charged with a special service will bespeak him a regularly official retainer. Of all men, whose characters have obtained notoriety, Cromwell best illustrates the truth of this observation. No mechanic ever had a more extensive assortment of various tools; better knew to what use each might be most effectually applied; or wielded them all by turns with more dexterity than this great master-artificer. His Fairfax and his Lambert, his Huntington and his Whalley, with Joyce

and Pride, Harrison and Ewer, were alike taken up, or thrown aside, according to the nature of the job in hand, and the exigency of the moment. These were in truth " the arrows in the hand of " a giant :" and of one,

" Who knew full well in time of need
" To aim those shafts aright."

It is very well known, that sir Hugh Evans and Dr. Caius " were of nearest trust" (perhaps in more senses than one) with their host of the garter. But it is clear from his discriminating panegyric on their respective merits, that his " soul-curer" could never have been consulted by him for the gout in his stomach, or his " body-" curer" on a qualm of conscience.

Is it then probable, that of all his trusty satellites Cromwell should have thought Hammond equally the most fit to be employed in both these very dissimilar capacities :—to wed his fair ward, and to guard his royal captive :—any more than that his choice of the masked executioner, who so dexterously cut off the king's head, should have fallen on the same skilful artist heretofore commissioned to engrave the counterfeit great-seal ?

Lord Clarendon has truly said of Cromwell that " he must have had a wonderful understand-" ing in the natures and humours of men, and as " great experience in applying them." It is then from a knowledge of the purposes to which their services were applied, that the surest judgment of the characters of his several agents may be formed, and the fairest estimate of their talents.

Now it is to be observed, that the fact of his

having advised Hammond to marry the daughter of John Hampden is affirmed as positively certain: whereas that of his having employed him to seize, or rather kidnap, the king, is intimated only as plausibly conjectural.

Cromwell was in truth a most extraordinary man. In his conduct therefore he is not to be judged of by the same rules, to which ordinary men are subjected. But when we find him whiling away some idle moments of leisure and relaxation in match-making, there is no very obvious reason for supposing him to have proceeded differently from any more regular practitioner,

——— "cui vincla jugalia cura."

These for the most part have principally, if not exclusively, in view the interests of one of the two parties; and it may be doubted, whether the friendly advice, or kind suggestion, be invariably addressed to that one, whose advantage it is most intended to promote. Now when we consider by how many ties Cromwell had been attached to Hampden, while living; and how devoutly (as we are here assured) he still "adored his memory," must we not consider him, in bringing about this "conjunction," to have been more anxious and solicitous for the orphan daughter of his relation, his friend, and his confederate, than for the nephew of the king's favourite chaplain, and the grandson of a court physician.

Notwithstanding Cromwell was any thing rather than "guiltless of his country's blood," all historians and biographers have agreed, that in the relations of private life he was kind and affec-

tionate: at least when the indulgence of his benevolent propensities interfered not with the gratification of his ruling passion. Surely therefore it is most improbable, that when the welfare and happiness of one so justly dear to him was at stake, he should divest himself of that "wonder-"ful understanding in the natures and humours "of men" and of that "as great experience in "applying them:" and that he should through carelessness, much more through design, "provi-"dently cater" no better for his interesting charge, than by presenting to her a suitor, endowed with every accomplishment requisite to form not the best of husbands, but the best of gaolers! For such we may be assured that Hammond must have been, if ever entrusted by Cromwell with the custody of his captive sovereign: especially when it is universally believed, he

"had a mighty cause to wish him dead."

For these reasons it is, in conclusion submitted, that Hammond's having been married to the daughter of John Hampden by Cromwell's advice, is a better argument for him who denies, than for him who affirms, that he was afterwards employed to apprehend, and confine the king in Carisbrook castle.

It cannot however but be admitted, that Hammond's having followed this advice may be successfully urged in support of Rapin's assertions, that he was "Cromwell's creature;" and that he was "entirely dependant on, and devoted to him." But we should then have to argue thus:—If Hammond could be prevailed upon by Cromwell to

marry Miss Hampden; what might not Cromwell have prevailed on Hammond to do? Surely every gentle reader will here unite with his author in deprecating a mode of reasoning, which necessarily implies so unfavourable a notion, either of the young lady's character, or of her person.

II.

"Hammond left the army but two or three "days before the king's remove, and went to the "Isle of Wight at a season, when there was no "visible occasion to draw him thither."

"Admirable circumspection and sagacity" were, according to lord Clarendon, among the distinguishing qualities to which is to be attributed the almost unparalleled success of Cromwell's career. It is therefore the more strange, since Hammond's repairing to the Isle of Wight was an essential component part of this stratagem, that Cromwell should have provided no ostensible cause, had such been wanted, for his agent's withdrawing himself from the army. And the more so, since he must have been conscious how much, and how deservedly, he had by this time become an object of very general jealousy and suspicion. But the truth is, that so far from there being "no visible," there was a very palpable "occasion" for it. Hammond had been then recently appointed, by the two houses of parliament, governor of the Isle of Wight. Was not the appointment in itself alone, at that period, sufficient to account for his

leaving the army, and being irresistibly drawn, or propelled, to his civil post? Was it to be supposed, that scrupulous, conscientious, puritanical republicans, who had so lately passed their "self-"denying ordinance," would countenance a job; wink at a sinecure; and suffer the honours and emoluments of official situations to be enjoyed in ease and affluence by inefficient principals; while the duties were discharged by needy hirelings and drudging deputies? Why, even now, in this degenerate age, bitted, and broken in, to bear with rapacities, venalities, and all other monarchical abominations, a governor is expected, once in his life at least, to be seen at his government.

Moreover this appointment must at the time have been the more notorious on account of the attendant circumstances: to which now, and hereafter, the reader's attention will be particularly solicited.

"Commons Journals, Sept. 3, 1647."

"The ordinance sent from the lords for ap-"pointing and constituting colonel Robert Ham-"mond, captain and governor of the Isle of Wight, "and of all ports, forts, towers, and places of "strength therein, '*quamdiu se bene gesserit*,' was "read the first and second time, and committed."

"Sep. 6."

"Mr. Bull reports the *amendments* to the ordi-"nance sent from the lords for constituting colonel "Robert Hammónd, captain and governor, &c. "The which were twice read, and upon the ques-"tion assented unto." "Resolved, &c.—instead "of the words '*quamdiu se bene gesserit*,' to

" insert these words ' *until the lords and commons* " ' *in parliament assembled shall otherwise order.*' " —In these alterations the lords immediately concurred.

" Sep. 9."

" Ordered: that Mr. Bulkeley and *Mr. Lisle,* " and the rest of the gentlemen that serve for the " Isle of Wight, do *go down with the governor* for " the better *settling* him in the government of the " said isle."

Surely there is in this amendment, and in the subsequent order, the demonstration of a misgiving inquietude and foreboding precaution, which could not have eluded the vigilance of Cromwell: but must have awakened his " saga- " city," and set a less " admirable circumspection" on the alert. How much the presbyterian party was jealous of the power of the army, and suspicious of its leader's designs, is evident from the enactment that nothing less than an order from the lords and commons in parliament assembled should remove Hammond (being only a colonel, and consequently subordinate to all general officers,) from his *civil employment,* as governor of the Isle of Wight: in which a committee of the house is purposely deputed to " *settle* him." Nor is this all; for (almost as if it were with an avowed design of directing the eyes of the world to the very point, where all their jealousies and suspicions were concentrated) in the " ordinance " to pass a grant to colonel Hammond under the " great seal of England, constituting him gover- " nor, &c." occurs the following clause—" Be it

" provided always, and it is hereby ordained, that " the said colonel Robert Hammond be subject " to the commands of sir Thomas Fairfax, knight, " commander-in-chief of all the land forces in the " kingdom of England, and in the pay of the par- " liament." This single exception is not to be solely attributed to Fairfax's being commander-in-chief. For lord Clarendon, speaking of an earlier time, when it had been resolved to seize Cromwell in the house of commons, and to commit him to the tower, observes that " they had " not the least jealousy of the general Fairfax: " whom they knew to be a perfect presbyterian in " his judgement:" and that Cromwell had " the " ascendant over him purely by his dissimulation " and pretence of conscience and sincerity."

So long as Hammond continued to be the colonel of a regiment, he could not be absolutely independent, and exempt from the authority of the commander-in-chief. But care had been taken that it should be confined to matters strictly *military*, by the resolution, that nothing less than an order of parliament should remove him from his *civil* post of governor, to which he had been appointed by parliament alone; and from the Isle of Wight, where by a committee of the house of commons he had been " settled." Thus positively a proof was given of confidence in Hammond, by the appointment; and of confidence in Fairfax, by the clause of exception limited to him alone: and thereby, negatively at least, of distrust in Cromwell. But of this he needed no such proof. For six months previously he had escaped the

being seized in the house, and committed to the tower, by retiring to his army.

III.

"But all these doubts were quickly cleared, "and within two days Cromwell informed the "house of commons, that he had received letters "from colonel Hammond, of all the manner of "the king's coming to the Isle of Wight, and "the company that came with him; that he re- "mained there in the castle of Carisbrook, till "the pleasure of the parliament should be known. "He assured them, 'that colonel Hammond was "'so honest a man, and so much devoted to their "'service, that they need have no jealousy that he "'might be corrupted by any body;' and all this "relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that "all men concluded that the king was where he "wished he should be."

At the time, when all men concluded from the coarse lineaments of Cromwell's visage what were the subtile workings of his mind; and from the gladness of his countenance inferred his heart's content, "certain it is," that no man knew him. It is not less certain, that, before the 15th Nov. 1647, the season of this delusion and dupery had gone by; and that Cromwell had ceased to be—

"A youth to fortune, and to fame, unknown."

The latter had already proclaimed him the most consummate of hypocrites and impostors: and the former had so frequently looked kindly

on him, that one smile more could hardly have set him beside himself; absolutely intoxicated with delight, even to the suspension of his "so "admirable circumspection and sagacity." Moreover it is, when emotions, whether of joy or grief, are suddenly and unexpectedly roused, that to suppress, controul, or disguise them is most difficult. Now if Cromwell had indeed, as we are told, set his snare in the very path where he had provided the king should pass, he could not have been surprised at hearing that he had fallen into it; nor, having succeeded so far as to have scared him away from Hampton Court, was he likely to have been thrown off his guard, on learning that the king was Hammond's prisoner in the Isle of Wight. According to the testimonies of all historians and biographers, and to none more than that of lord Clarendon, it may be reasonably doubted, that Cromwell's imperturbable self-possession at any time forsook him; or that a muscle of his face ever betrayed a passion, which he meant it not to divulge. On the contrary it may be suspected, that with him the outward expression was generally the very reverse of the inward feeling. If therefore on this occasion Cromwell displayed "unusual gaiety," (which that he did there is no intention, or wish to question,) the greater probability is, that it was assumed, in order to conceal disappointment and vexation at an issue, so contrary to the one which his machinations had been calculated to bring about. But that "all men," or most men, (if indeed any man,) were still imposed upon by the mummeries and

antics, which he continued to play off, may be confidently and safely denied. There was at least one member of the house who had escaped to be his dupe.

Mrs. Hutchinson relates, that when Cromwell came to Nottingham, being then "on his way to "encounter Hamilton in the north, colonel Hutch-"inson went to see him; whom he embraced with "all expressions of kindnesse, that one friend "could make to another; and then retiring with "him pressed him to tell him, what thought his "friends the levellers had of him. The colonel, "who was the freest man in the world from con-"cealing truth from his friends, not only told him "what others thought of him, but what he him-"self conceived; and how much it would darken "all his glories, if he should become a slave to "his own ambition, and be guilty of what *he gave* "*the world just cause to suspect;* and therefore "begged of him *to wear his heart in his face,* and "to scorn to delude his enemies."

It is true, that this interview between the two friends took place some months subsequently to the scene in the house of commons, here described by lord Clarendon; but sir John Berkeley affirms, that while the king was yet at Hampton Court,— "Cromwell and Ireton had enough to do both in "the parliament, and council of the army; the "one abounding with presbyterians; the other "with levellers; and *both really jealous,* that "Cromwell and Ireton had made a private com-"pact and bargain with the king." And Mrs. Hutchinson had before said, "Colonel Hutch-

"inson had a great intimacy with many of these "levellers. These were they, who first began to "discover the ambition of lieutenant general "Cromwell, and his idolaters; and to suspect "and dislike it." Ludlow also might here be quoted to the same effect. But it may be in vain to oppose other authorities to that of lord Clarendon. Wherefore, since—

"Ne quisquam Ajacem poterit superare, nisi Ajax,"

an appeal shall be made from page 503 to page 435, of the fifth volume of the History of the Rebellion; where may be found the following relation. "In "these and the like discourses, when he (Cromwell) "spake of the nation's being to be involved in new "troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear "the most afflicted man in the world with the "sense of the calamities which were likely to en- "sue. But as *many* of the wiser sort *had long* "*discovered* his wicked intentions, so his *hypocrisy* "*could no longer be concealed*..... So that it "was privately resolved by the *principal persons* "of the house of commons, that when he came "the next day into the house, which he seldom "omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; "presuming, that, if they once severed his person "from the army, they should easily reduce it to "its former temper and obedience." Such was the prevalent opinion, common to all parties, of Cromwell *previous* to the seizure of the king at Holmby by Joyce on the *third of June*, 1647. If therefore at this earlier period Cromwell was in vain shedding his crocodile tears,

——"as fast as the Arabian trees
"Their medicinal gums,"

and haranguing the house on his knees, while he protested his fidelity and innocence; is it probable,—is it possible,—that "all men," *six months afterwards* should be so imposed upon by his "unusual gaiety, as to conclude from it, that the "king was, where he wished he should be?"

If, as lord Clarendon affirms, the king's evasion from Hampton Court was discovered early in the morning of the 11th of November, the intelligence must have been received by parliament and generally circulated throughout the metropolis before the evening of the same day. If the "doubts," occasioned by it, were so "quickly cleared as "within two days," this clearing must have been effected on the 13*th*. And if public tranquillity was then restored, in consequence of information given on that day to the house of commons by Cromwell, he must, however correct in his anticipation of the future event, have been somewhat premature in announcing it, as already past. Since, even at the moment, when he was so circumstantially relating "all the manner of the "king's *coming* to the Isle of Wight, and the "company, that *came* with him: and how he *re-* "*mained there* in the castle of Carisbrook, till the "pleasure of the parliament should be known," the royal fugitive had not so much as *embarked* for the island.

"Lords Journals 15 *Nov.*"

"A letter read from colonel R. Hammond, "governor of the Isle of Wight, giving informa- "tion of the king's being in the Isle of Wight.

"For the right honourable the earl of Man-

" chester *speaker of the house of peers* pro tem-
" pore; These." " Newport, *Nov.* 14, *four in the*
" *morning*."

" Commons Journals."

" Resolved; that the sum of twenty pounds be
" bestowed upon captain Rolfe: that brought the
" letter from the governor of the Isle of Wight,
" *directed to Mr. Speaker*."

It is thus, on the highest possible authorities, that three facts, in direct contradiction, and to the total subversion, of the illustrious Author's unhesitating and unqualified statement, are clearly, fully, and incontrovertibly ascertained. The first —that of the intelligence not having been received till the 15*th*, is proved by the date of the two entries. The second—that it was not, even then, received by Cromwell's communication of a letter, addressed to *him* by Hammond, is proved negatively, by not so much as the name of Cromwell occurring on the pages of either journal; and positively, by both journals distinctly specifying, that it was conveyed in the regular form, and customary course of letters, directed to *the respective speakers of either house*. And the third—that earlier information could not have been brought, is proved by the date of the letter. Which not having been closed at four in the morning of the 14*th*, the bearers of them, subsequently starting from Newport in the Isle of Wight, could not have reached London on the same day, until after the usual hour of the houses adjourning.

Parliament therefore, though not informed of this important event till the 15*th*, had no reason

to be dissatisfied with the messengers for their want of diligence and expedition. And that in fact it was not, appears from the foregoing recorded testimony of approbation. Had it been otherwise, it is probable, that captain Rolfe would have been greeted with a reprimand, instead of a recompense. And, if the letter had been addressed to lieutenant-general Cromwell, instead of being "directed to Mr. Speaker," it is not less probable, that Hammond would have been summoned to the bar of the house, to account for his greater alacrity in giving private information, respecting a matter of such public interest, to an individual member, (and above all to one so generally the object of distrust, suspicion and apprehension,) rather than to the house collectively, through the long prescribed and well known usual channel. It was impossible, that Cromwell could have obtained by earlier means of rapid conveyance, so detailed and minute a knowledge "of all the "manner of the king's coming to the Isle of "Wight, &c." than, (as lord Clarendon affirms,) by that of "letters from colonel Hammond." For, though beacons seem to have been in general use in all ages and nations, they are but very matter-of-fact and niggardly newsmongers. Nor have the telegraphs of modern invention, or recent improvement, however far more communicative than their laconic prototypes, been as yet censured for that prolix redundancy of narration, commonly known by the familiar appellation of rigmarole.

He might indeed have received a letter by the

same hands, which brought the despatches for parliament; or he might have conversed, as it is probable that he did, with the messengers, within the interval between the time of their arrival in London and that of the House's subsequent meeting. But what can be more incredible than that Mr. Speaker should have remained in the chair,—silently, patiently, and respectfully,—waiting to take the pleasure of the house, whether he should read the letter in his hand from the governor of the Isle of Wight, until the honourable member for Cambridge had finished the forestalling of all its interesting and important contents? This alone can be more incredible; that Cromwell, at his so obviously imminent peril, should have given way to the irresistible eagerness of an idle vanity to display "priority of intelligence:" in which we may rather recognize the jealous rivalry of a modern journalist, than that "wonderful circum-"spection and sagacity," for which he was so eminently distinguished, and has been so justly characterized.

Hobbes, speaking of this very period, says:— "Though Cromwell had a great party in the par-"liament house, whilst they saw not his ambition "to be their master, yet they would have been "his enemies, as soon as that had appeared." It is no disparagement of Hobbes to believe, that Cromwell was not inferior to him in discernment and foresight. If it be true, that

'Suspicion ever haunts the guilty mind,"

no man surely ever had more reason, than the

latter at this juncture, to suspect himself of being suspected. That he was so by the presbyterians; we have the authority of lord Clarendon. That he was so by the levellers; we know from Mrs. Hutchinson. And if there was yet a third party, on whose support Cromwell might more particularly rely;—but so long only as "they saw not "his ambition," but who would have become hostile to him "so soon as it appeared," he must have been, according to the noble Historian, resolved, that nothing should prevent it from appearing, and without delay. For, as he had no right *in virtue of any official employment*, civil or military, to be in correspondence with *the governor of the Isle of Wight*; so neither was it, in the discharge of any public duty, incumbent on him to divulge secret information, of which he individually, and exclusively, had been put into possession by *a private letter from colonel Hammond*. How then could he more effectually consolidate into one universal certainty all the several and scattered jealousies and misgivings, apprehensions and surmises, of each distinct and discordant party, than by this ostentatious, voluntary display of an unauthorized, confidential communication:—by such an uncalled for disclosure of an official secret intercourse?

Then, as if fearful that he had not thus sufficiently betrayed and exposed his hidden machinations; as if apprehensive, that all the world might not at that time know what it has since known, how "by his advice" alone Hammond had married,—or rather "*had been* married to a daughter

" of John Hampden's:" or perhaps doubting (as in truth well he might,) whether this fact, if known would be deemed a sufficient proof, or indeed any proof at all, of Hammond's being " of nearest " trust with him," he

" makes assurance doubly sure,"

by superadding an eulogium, equally superfluous and unseasonable, on Hammond's approved integrity, and unassailable fidelity to the parliament. Since, however antecedently little known to the members of either house Hammond might have been, he was no obscure individual subsequently to their joint appointment of him to the government of the Isle of Wight. More especially in the commons his merits must have been fully canvassed, investigated and attested. Because it had not been until after three days of debate, that the bill was returned to the lords with that amendment, which has already been recommended to the reader's particular notice; and which most assuredly could not have escaped the " wonderful " sagacity" of him, against whom it was directed.

It is thus that lord Clarendon's relation of this imaginary and fictitious scene carries with it internal evidence, singly and alone, sufficient for its own refutation. Even if it had not been disproved by documentary testimonies transcendantly unexceptionable, incontrovertible, and conclusive.

After having given his own account of the king's flight from Hampton Court, it is observable that, although lord Clarendon has enumerated the various effects produced on the several parties by

that astounding intelligence; their hopes and fears, doubts and apprehensions, conjectures and suspicions, he has omitted to mention, by whom, and in what manner, it was announced to parliament. Now at the very outset of these enquiries there was occasion to give extracts from the journals of both houses; by which it appears, that the information was given by Cromwell; not indeed in person, but by a letter, dated "Novem-"ber 11, twelve at night." Hence it may be fairly concluded, that the noble Historian has mistaken the one occasion for the other. But near as these were in point of time, and the same scene of action common to both, no two events can be more dissimilar, or indeed as far as Cromwell was personally concerned, more absolutely the reverse of each other. To inform the house that the king had fled from Hampton Court; was gone, he knew not whither; that he had eluded the vigilance of his keepers, and outstripped the speed of his pursuers, was a very different tale from that, which he has here been made to tell of the king: not merely to "prate of his where-"about," but distinctly to point out the precise spot, where he then was; to certify further his actual condition; "with all the manner of his "coming there, and the company, that came "with him." The former intelligence, though it might have failed to lull the vigilant, could not have roused the dormant, suspicions. Whereas the latter must not only have fostered and matured those already in being; but have given birth to the non-existent.

A stronger contrast yet remains to be drawn. It has been already remarked, that Cromwell had no more right or business, pretence or excuse, for being better informed of what was going forward in the Isle of Wight, than any other member, but on the contrary had much more reason to conceal his being possessed of any such knowledge; if so he had really been. But from the self-imposed charge, which he was well known to have undertaken, of superintending the safe custody of the royal captive at Hampton Court; he must have been naturally expected, to be cognizant of "the secrets" of that "prison house," and early apprized of every passing or recently past event. And in the absence of the general in chief, Fairfax, either at Windsor, or St. Albans, the duty of notifying the king's escape so necessarily and obviously devolved on lieutenant general Cromwell, that, if he had omitted, or delayed, to make the report; such omission, or delay, would have been as reasonably and naturally confirmatory of old surmises, and productive of new, as the information of the king's being in the Isle of Wight must have been; if in truth he had ever given it.

He therefore in either case acted, not only like himself, who was gifted with "so wonderful a cir-" cumspection and sagacity," but as every man would have done in his situation; to whom an average share of the commonest faculties, and most ordinary qualities, had not been denied.

Let it not then be said, that here a heavy stress has been unduly laid on slight inaccuracies; that the exception taken to an incorrect date is capti-

ous; or that the exposure made of a local mistake is frivolous. For, if the "gods" were (as they have been requested,) to "annihilate both time "and space;" and by so simple a process "to "make two lovers happy," the beneficial effect would not extend to our noble Historian: who would not be made a whit more happy in this his narration. Where all, that is not physically impossible, is so morally improbable, that in reason it could not be credited, even if in point of fact it were not untrue.

Having thus audited lord Clarendon's account, the result is, that there is but one item alone, bearing to the rest the same proportion, as Falstaff's "one halfpennyworth of bread to this "intolerable load of sack," which can be allowed. This is Cromwell's "so unusual gaiety;" not while "making this relation to the house of commons," but on hearing it, in common with the other members, made by the speaker. To whom alone Hammond's letter had been addressed. Neither was it because he then learnt, that "the king was "where he wished he should be," but that his majesty had thus frustrated his well digested stratagem and disappointed his well founded expectation. Little desirable as it might be to raise, or to strengthen, erroneous suspicions, that the king's being in Carisbrook Castle under the custody of Hammond was in consequence of his secret, unauthorized, and unsanctioned machinations; it was to encounter a less evil, than to betray, by perceptible chagrin and vexation, the failure of his real design. The former could only have given addi-

tional umbrage to the presbyterians; by whom he had long since been detested: whereas the latter would have alienated "that great party," which (according to Hobbes) "he had in the "parliament;" as well as exasperated the levellers in the army. "These were they," as Mrs. Hutchinson has been already quoted for saying, "who first began to discover the ambition of the "lieutenant general." Cromwell's unusual gaiety therefore is good and indubitable proof of his wishing to be thought pleased: but none at all of his really being so.

There is much reason to conclude, that the king's flight from Hampton Court was originally projected, and designed by Cromwell; but that it was effected with his cognizance and connivance, and even co-operation, there can be no doubt. Lord Clarendon says:—"the king every day re-"ceived little billets or letters secretly conveyed "to him without any name; which advertised "him of wicked designs upon his life; and some "of them advised him to make an escape." But the noble Historian is too intent on arguing the *possibility*, that one of these "*might* have been "the minutes of a discourse, which Mr. Ashburn-"ham *might* have kept by him," to bestow his pains on tracing any of them to the source, from which it is probable, that they all derived; and thus establishing a really important *certainty*. In one instance the fact is clearly and incontrovertibly proved. Colonel Whalley in his letter to the speaker, already quoted, writes:—"And whereas, "Mr. Speaker, you demand of me what that letter

"was, that I shewed the king, the day before he "went away. The letter I shall shew you: but "with your leave I shall first acquaint you with "the author; and the ground of my shewing it "to the king. The author is lieutenant-general "Cromwell. The ground of my shewing it was "this: the letter intimates some murderous de-"sign, or at least some fear of it, against his "majesty."—For what other purpose could this warning be given to the unarmed, defenceless, and unprotected monarch, than to urge him to a precipitate flight?

That Cromwell in the mean time was receiving repeated notices, that his machinations were prosperously advancing, appears from other passages of the same letter.—"But for some fifteen weeks "I had Mr. Ashburnham's engagement for the "king's safe abiding with me. And truly I must "do him so much right as to declare, that he "dealt honestly, and like a gentleman with me. "For about *three weeks ago*, he came to me, and "minded me of his engagement: which was to "continue no longer, than he gave me warning: "which he told me, he now did; and would "stand engaged no longer. I demanded of him "the reason. He replied, the court was so much "Scotified, that he feared there would be work-"ings to get the king away.

"Whereupon I presently sent away a despatch "to his excellency, sir Thomas Fairfax, acquaint-"ing him with it. And not long after went myself "to the head-quarters at Putney. I there again "before the whole company acquainted his ex-

" cellency with Mr. Ashburnham's disengaging " himself."

This may be considered, as warning the first, of the king's meditated escape. In consequence of which orders were immediately given for doubling the guards, and for a more restricted admission to the royal presence.

Whalley further writes,—" And whereas, Mr. " Speaker, you demand of me to know, whether " the king did take himself off from his engage- " ment. I can tell you no other ways than thus. " About a fortnight ago the king's children came " to him, and stayed with him here three or four " days. The princess Elizabeth was lodged in a " chamber opening to the long gallery; in which " two sentinels stood for the safeguard of the " king. The princess complained to his majesty " that the soldiers disquieted her. The king spake " to me, that it might be remedied. I told the " king, if the soldiers made any noise, it was con- " trary to my desire and command: that I would " double my commands upon them, and give " them as strict a charge, as I could, not to dis- " quiet her highness. Which I did. Notwith- " standing a second complaint was made. I told " his majesty stricter commands I could not give. " However I told his majesty, if he would be " pleased to renew his engagement, I would place " the sentinels at a more remote distance. The " king answered; to renew his engagement, was a " point of honour: you had my engagement, I will " not renew it: keep your guards."*

* In Ashburnham's Narrative may be seen how the king's

Here then was a second warning. And after the third had been given, by Berkeley and Ashburnham's going to the head-quarters three days before, and applying for passports, Cromwell's fore-knowledge of the intended flight can no more be doubted, than his power to prevent its being effected; or, that effected it could have been, without his connivance.

The measures for retaking the royal fugitive, to which Whalley immediately had recourse, seem sufficiently curious to be worth inserting.—"I "presently sent out parties of horse and foot to

ingenuity was unconsciously exerted in playing his adversary's game. "The king commanded me to find some good occasion "to withdraw my word; which was engaged for his majesty's "not departing out of their hands without their privity. Which "accordingly I did; giving the reason, that the multiplicity of "Scots about the court was such, and the agitators in the army "so violently set against the king, as for ought I knew, either "party might as well take him from Hampton Court, as some "others did from Holmby: and that I was not obliged to hazard "my life for either the one or the other. Though truly I appre-"hended neither: but thought them the best pretences I could "make in obeying his majesty in that point. I was the next "day dismissed from my attendance upon the king: and the "guards being placed that night so near his majesty's cham-"ber, that they disturbed his repose, he complained to colonel "Whalley of that rudeness; and told him, that his word "should no longer oblige him to continue with them. For "where his word was given, there ought to be no guards about "him."

It may be remembered, that the king escaped immediately before the time of setting the guard for the night. Which had been on that evening unusually delayed, in consequence of the pretence, that the king was engaged in writing letters to be sent abroad.

" search the lodge in the park. I sent despatches " immediately to the general: and to the lieute- " nant-general: who sent me orders presently to " send out parties of horse every way: but I had " done it before. I sent to search Mr. Ashburn- " ham's house at Ditton; a mile from Hampton: " but my soldiers when they came thither, found " the house empty. Mr. Ashburnham was gone " three or four days before; and his horses the " night before. I set guards round the house, " and searched that. Which was as much as I " could do."*

What more in furtherance of Cromwell's design, that the king should not be overtaken, could have been done, than by searching in the first instance, the places where the king was least likely to be found; his majesty's lodge in the park, and Mr. Ashburnham's house at Ditton.

If the underling so naturally played his secondary part, it is not to be presumed, that the great Roscius of this drama sustained with less success the principal character. Accordingly we find him not till four hours after the event had been announced to him, sitting down to communicate the first intelligence to the house of commons in a letter dated " 12 at night." This was making

* Peck in his Desiderata Curiosa observes in a note. " This " account was not read in the house, because the speaker had a " letter the same day from colonel Hammond, certifying the " king's being safe in his hands in the Isle of Wight.—And the " reason, why Rushworth did not afterwards publish this narra- " tive, was perhaps, because it contained some things not much " to the advantage of Cromwell and Whalley."

sure, that nothing, subsequent to colonel Whalley's ingenious manœuvres, could be done to impede, or molest the king in his flight, until the meeting of the house, (in which the executive power was then vested,) on the following day.

Hence no orders could be issued for the shutting of the ports, till after the calculated time of his majesty's embarkation; nor received, till after he had reached the French coast, Jersey, or whatever might be the point of his destination. Ashburnham mentions, that the mayor of Southampton received his orders, which he was to transmit to the governor of the Isle of Wight, on the *night* of the 13*th*. That is full forty-eight hours after the king had quitted Hampton Court.

But while all authorities are unanimous as to Cromwell's having been the prime mover, and chief instigator, of the king's evasion, various are the conjectures, as to the motive, by which he was then actuated; and the object, which he had immediately in view. Hobbes's solution of this mystery seems to be, of all others, the most plausible and satisfactory; if indeed it be not incontestable. He says:—"There was nothing better "for his (Cromwell's) purpose, than *to let him* "(the king) *escape* from Hampton Court, where "he was too near the parliament, *whither he* "*pleased beyond sea.*" The reasons for giving the preference to this exposition are,—

1. It was the best, if not the only expedient, by which he could extricate himself from the difficulties, and even dangers, into which his multifarious and complicated intrigues had brought him.

2. It was most consonant with his systematic policy, his universal practice, and his known character.

3. It was one from which he could not fail to derive directly, and remotely, the most important advantages.

4. It could lead to no results injurious to him, or to his party:—if indeed beyond, or distinct from, self-interest and aggrandizement his cares ever extended.

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1. He had by this time fully ascertained that his present scheme* was impracticable; that, however he might still "ride in the whirlwind," he could not yet "direct the storm" of his own raising. At Hampton Court the king was not only surrounded by loyalists, but in correspondence with the queen. He was accessible alike to the parliament; to the presbyterians of the city; to the Scotch commissioners; and to the officers of the army; "some of whom" (Mrs. Hutchinson affirms that) "the king had gained over to him;" for instance major Huntington, particularly noticed by lord Clarendon; who also says, that;—"Ashburnham and Berkeley received many adver-"tisements from some,—*who would have been glad,* "*that the king might have been restored by the*

* It has been very generally supposed that with the earldom of Essex and the order of the garter for himself, and the lieutenancy of Ireland for his son-in-law Ireton, Cromwell would have been content, like Stephano, with being "Viceroy over the "king of this island;" or, as he already was, lieutenant general over the commander in chief, the lord general.

"*army, for the preferments, which might fall to* "*their share.*" He knew further the king's avowed conviction, that to each of the two contending principal parties, the parliament and the army, he was more necessary, than either of them were to him.*

But there was yet another sect far more formidable to Cromwell; by whom it had been formed for the subjection, or annihilation, of all the above-mentioned factions; whose jealousy and mistrust he had most reason to dread; and which he had most incurred. The levellers, or agitators. Never surely did "the heathen so furiously rage against" the pretended prototypes of these ultra-puritanical saints, as they did against the arch-hypocrite, on finding themselves the dupes of his artifice, and the tools of his ambition. Some threatening him with impeachment; others with the forfeiture of his life by a more summary process.

2. A situation so perilous required the application of all the talents, with which the versatile and energetic character of Cromwell was so largely gifted. Stubborn as the oak, yet flexible as the reed, he knew how best to avail himself of either quality; when to maintain his ground, or when to give way; to advance, or to retreat;

"Et properare loco, et cessare."

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* This has been deemed infatuation in the king by some. But these surely are not aware, that lord Clarendon entertained the same opinion.—"For sure, they have as much, or more "need of the king, than he of them." Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 379.

Hence there were three points, which it was necessary for him to secure. The first, to remove from him the suspicions already existing. The second, to prevent all recurrence of them. And the third; to preclude the intrigues of his adversaries from that success, which his own had failed to obtain.

In the first instance he had recourse to his customary wiles:—"Concluding" (these are Ludlow's expressions) "that, if he could not bring the army "to his sense, it was best to comply with theirs: "a schism being utterly destructive to both: "Cromwell bent all his thoughts to make his "peace with the party, that was most opposite to "the king. Acknowledging, as he well knew how "to do on such occasions, that the glory of this "world had so dazzled his eyes, that he could "not discern clearly the great works that the "Lord was doing."

The two latter points could only be gained by getting rid of the king altogether. To accomplish which this alternative alone presented itself. Either assassination or expatriation. Of these, the former was contrary certainly to his interest: and, as there is reason to presume, to his nature. For however it was one, in which "no compunc-"tious visitings"

"Forbad to wade through slaughter to a throne,"

unless his only, or shortest, way to it lay across such a ford; he would not without a sufficient cause, in his estimation, have stained so much as the sole of his foot in human blood. The shed-

ding of which, needlessly and wantonly, delighted not him, as it has seemed to delight other usurpers.

But circumstanced as Cromwell then was, in relation to the king, it is not improbable, that

" This murder had not come into (his) mind,"

further than as an enormity, meditated by others, little less insensate, than atrocious. Could even " one fell swoop" for ever have annihilated the Stuart dynasty,

—— " natumque, patremque"
" Cum genere"——

the blow would have been, for Cromwell's purpose, at this time prematurely struck. But the prince of Wales, like Fleance, having escaped; the murder of the king, like that of Banquo, would (as it afterwards did) but

" have scotch'd the snake, not kill'd it."

And however the blind fanaticism of besotted levellers, and infuriated agitators, might be unable to perceive a distinction between the death of the man, whom they had been taught to hate; and the destruction of the monarch, whom they had been bred up to abhor, Cromwell was practical philosopher enough to know, that the cutting off this stem without eradicating the plant, could serve but to insure a more luxuriant growth to the substituted scion. He, and Ireton, and Vane, were surely well entitled to that credit, which some of the royalists (according to Clarendon) thus gave them. " It might be some reason that

Hist. Vol. vi. p. 192.

" they who wished the king very well did not " wish his escape, because they believed impri- " sonment was the worst his worst enemies in- " tended towards him; since they might that way " more reasonably found and settle their repub- " lican government; which men could not so " prudently propose to bring to pass by a murder; " which, in the instant, gave the just title to ano- " ther who was at liberty to claim his right, and " to dispute it."

But the fact is that Cromwell so far from having " a mighty cause to wish him dead," had the most powerful of all reasons to preserve his captive's life. For universally suspected as his ambitious designs then were by the independents, who were his friends, and by the presbyterians, who were his foes, he must have been sensible, that if the king's death had occurred, while at Hampton Court, then in truth " all men would have con- " cluded," not only " that his majesty was where " he wished,"—but also where he had taken good care, that he should be.

With respect to the alternative. The removal of the king to the Isle of Wight, whether or not with the ulterior view of his quitting the kingdom, could only be effected, as Hobbes has most correctly specified, by " *letting* the king escape;" having first applied the sufficient and most infallible stimulus to urge him to the attempt, and removed all obstacles to the accomplishment of it.

Hume observes; " though it was always in the " power of Cromwell, whenever he pleased, to

" have sent him thither, yet such a measure with-
" out the king's consent would have been very
" invidious, if not attended with some danger."
It is hoped, that neither inconsistently with respect and deference, due to such superior judgement, that the justice of this remark may be doubted, if not denied. The scene so successfully performed at Holmby was one not suited to every stage. On the repetition of so violent a measure Cromwell, under the very different circumstances now existing, could not have ventured without the sanction of parliament, or the authority of Fairfax. The former of these there could be no hope of his obtaining. As for the latter, however

" Nil desperandum Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro ;"

although with such a general at the head of the army, and a general with such a head, the arch-hypocrite needed not to despair of any thing, which dupery could effect; yet since, as lord Clarendon justly affirms, " Fairfax did not then, nor
" long after, believe, that the other had the least
" imagination of disobeying the parliament," it may be safely concluded, that Cromwell was not yet prepared to hazard a chance of undeceiving, and rousing his " drowsy, dull, presbyterian hu-
" mour; who wished nothing that Cromwell did,
" and yet contributed to bring it all to pass."

Hist. Vol. v. p. 435.

p. 504.

But if he could have done this of himself singly; his power over the king at Hampton Court must have been so complete and absolute, as not to require, or even to admit of, its being strengthened by any change of place. It would be difficult

therefore to account for his having first encouraged his deluded victim to attempt an escape, and then for his having sprung upon him at the very moment of fancied security, otherwise, than by supposing him for recreation to have adopted the sportive refinements of a feline cruelty. Moreover a step, which to have taken might have been "dangerous," and must have been "invidious," was one, which surely without necessity it was morally impossible for Cromwell to take.

Very different from that of Hobbes, and in truth a "most lame and impotent conclusion" is the one drawn from the same premises by the lord Holles—"Cromwell and Ireton were sensible, "that if the king continued at liberty at Hamp-"ton Court, or any other place, where freedom of "resort might be to him, there would be oppor-"tunities taken and improved, to meet with and "prevent all their attempts."—Then after mentioning the means used to alarm the king for his personal safety, (among others "Cromwell's letter "to Whalley to be shewn to his majesty") he ends with saying, that—"the king was advised to go "to the Isle of Wight; where they had beforehand "provided him a gaoler; colonel Hammond."

To this statement it may be objected, *First:* that as the authority of parliament extended over the whole of the yet nominal kingdom; so that of the army was limited to the spot, where it was stationed. If then Cromwell and Ireton, while the king remained at Hampton Court, where he was in their more immediate, and as far as it was at that time possible, in their exclusive, custody,

found, that they could not entirely prevent the "freedom of resort to him;" they must have been sensible, that when removed to a distance "oppor-"tunities" would be more frequently "taken," and more successfully "improved," to counteract their designs. For so long as the place of his confinement was contiguous to their head-quarters, they could at least render difficult, and of little avail, if not fruitless, that intercourse, which they could not absolutely prevent.*

Secondly: if within the British dominions there was a place which, more than all others exempt from the power or influence of the army, could best insure both to the parliament and to the Scotch commission an unrestricted and uninterrupted intercourse with the king, it was, as it has been proved, the Isle of Wight. Accordingly we read in Whitelock's Memorials,

"December 27, 1647. The next day after the "four bills had been presented by the commis-"sioners of the two houses of parliament to the "king at the Isle of Wight, the Scots commis-

* We read in lord Clarendon, that at this time—"The "officers of those guards which were assigned to attend his "person,..... begun now to murmur at so great resort to "him, and to use many, who came, rudely; and not to suffer them "to go into the room where the king was; or, which was worse, "put them out when they were there ..... They affronted "the Scottish commissioners very notably, and would not "suffer them to speak with the king; which caused an expos-"tulation from the parliament, which removed the obstruction "for the future, but procured not satisfaction for the injury they "had received, nor made the same officers more civil towards "their persons." Hist. vol. v. p. 483-4.

" sioners came to him and presented him a decla-
" ration, &c. &c. Protesting against the said bills
" in the name of the kingdom of Scotland."*

The foresight of the afterwise has been so frequently depreciated in the course of these disquisitions, that it is incumbent to shew the judgement, here pronounced against the impolicy of this supposed measure, not to have been formed on that most unfair and fallacious criterion, its consequent event.

Although sir John Berkeley confesses, or rather boasts, that he knew nothing of the Isle of Wight, or of its governor; until he was (most unfortunately) sent there by the king;—Cromwell was not ignorant of either. All, that the former subsequently learnt, must have been previously ascertained by the latter: namely; that throughout the whole island there was not a single soldier of the army; that the whole military force, at that time stationed there, consisted of " twelve old
" men who had served under the earl of Portland,
" and were all well affected." *Perhaps* he also knew, (for this remains to be proved) that " Ham-
" mond might be easily gained, if not more easily

* Dr. Lingard in a note to his History of this period (which has been published since the completion of this Vindication) after having exposed by contrast the extreme difference between the four bills, such as they really were (according to the Journals of Parliament, vol. ix. p. 575, and Charles's Works 590, 593), and such as they are stated to have been by the noble Historian, concludes with the following observation—" When this state-
" ment is compared with the real bills, it may be judged, how
" little credit is due to the assertions of Clarendon, unless they
" are supported by other authorities."

" forced." He must also have known beforehand, as well as lord Clarendon ever knew, that " the " Isle of Wight was inhabited by a people always " well affected to the crown:" * and " at that " time under no such power, as could subdue " them. That Carisbrook was near the sea, and " a castle not strong in itself." Lastly, and consequently, he must have known as well as Ashburnham, that " his majesty would there be close " by the water side; and might take boat, and " dispose of his person into what part beyond the " sea, he pleased."

When therefore, such being the state of the Isle of Wight, and more especially of Carisbrook Castle, the lord Holles gravely tells the world, that Cromwell advised the king to go thither, because " he had there provided him with a gaoler;" one is reminded of master Stephen in the play: who, in like manner beginning at the wrong end, tells his uncle, that he has " bought a hawk and a

* Lord Clarendon has accounted for Holmby being chosen for the place of the king's confinement when delivered over by the Scotch army to the commissioners of the two houses of parliament, because " it was at a small distance from North- " ampton, a town and country of very eminent disaffection to " the king throughout the war." It may be observed; that Cromwell was one of these commissioners;—that it is not likely that he should have acted a more subordinate part on this than on other occasions:—that the choice of the place was worthy of that " admirable circumspection" for which none of his colleagues have acquired equal celebrity:—and hence, that he should have been more circumspect in the securing of the parliament's prisoner than he afterwards was of his own, (if such it had been his intention, that the king should remain,) is absolutely incredible.

"hood and bells; and now lacks nothing but a "book to keep him by." Surely it is reducing the future lord protector in point of intellect to the low level of this "country gull" to suppose, that after having provided himself with a captive, and his captive with a gaoler, he should still "lack" a gaol to keep him in.

There yet remains to be illustrated two of the reasons assigned for the conviction, that Hobbes's view of Cromwell's policy in this measure is the most correct: namely, that 3dly. he had much to hope, and 4thly. nothing to fear, from "letting the "king escape, whither he would" *provided that it was*—"beyond sea."

The more immediate and important advantages to be derived from it, have been anticipated in the foregoing arguments; that of liberating himself from the suspicions, which he had justly incurred from his several competitors; and that of frustrating their projects; of which he was not less reasonably jealous and apprehensive. Another proximate result on which Cromwell might confidently calculate, was the further depression of the already dispirited royalists.* Who might naturally conclude from the king's withdrawing himself that he despaired of his own cause; while their

* Among the reasons submitted by Ashburnham to dissuade his majesty from quitting the kingdom, until all other expedients had failed, was—"that it would make desperate all his "party, and leave the whole dominion to his enemies. Who "in his absence might possibly find some more reasonable pre-"tence to govern the kingdom by the parliament, (he had settled) "than they could have, if he continued in it."

adversaries would not fail to construe it, an abdication of his throne.

But when there exist "admirable circumspec-" tion and sagacity" future possibilities, as well as present probabilities, will not be overlooked. Unlikely as it might be, that Charles should ever return at the head of a numerous army of foreign auxiliaries, and, thus reviving the energies of his loyal and faithful adherents, be able to reinstate himself in his legitimate and constitutional ascendency; far more unforeseen changes of fortunes are not of rare occurrence. Cromwell therefore might not be regardless of the beneficial result, which in such a case might accrue from having been the first to advise that escape, which he alone could have facilitated and insured. And if for services like these a claim to remuneration should not be allowed; the plea for amnesty and impunity of earlier offences could hardly be denied.

4. The unaffectionate, ungracious, and even inhospitable reception, which the daughter and grandson of Henry the Fourth of France had met with from the French regency, was not calculated to excite alarm in the breast of Cromwell as to the welcome, the protection, and the assistance, which might there await a king of England: especially one, who had commenced his reign by unprovoked hostilities, of which religious zeal in support of the Huguenots was evidently rather a pretext, than the cause:—by the unceremonious dismission of most of the queen's household: and the forcible expulsion of the ecclesiastics, who had been improvidently permitted to attend her;—and further

by the renewed persecution of his own Roman catholic subjects; for the mitigation of which, if he had not formally engaged himself, he had at least inconsiderately encouraged his most christian brother-in-law to hope.

Equally, and almost simultaneously, Charles, by the baleful fascinations of the infatuated and infatuating Buckingham, had at his accession found himself embroiled with his most catholic majesty. So that the only feeling in common to these great rival powers, then warring against each other, was a remembrance of old national humiliations and defeats, stimulated by recent personal affronts and aggressions; which both had experienced from the same sovereign; now vanquished, dethroned, and imprisoned by his own subjects.

Moreover at this juncture warfare, foreign or domestic, was prevalent throughout the whole continent of Europe. Independently of which lord Clarendon observes——"sure there was no "court in christendom so honourably or gene- "rously constituted, that it would have been glad "to have seen him." And among the dissuasives urged by Ashburnham against his majesty's quitting the kingdom until all other resources had failed, was "that he would find all the powers so "engaged in the preservation of what related to "their own interests, as that there would be little, "or no hope of his returning with any foreign "supplies, as some of his predecessors had for- "merly done."

Hist. Vol. vi. p. 192.

From these considerations has arisen the pre-

ference, avowed, and contended for, as due to Hobbes' conjecture above all others, with respect to Cromwell's motive for forcing the king by intimidation to quit Hampton Court; and his object in prevailing on him by advice to repair in the first instance to the Isle of Wight. The former of these facts seems to be established beyond all doubt: and the latter to rest on the concurrence of good authorities. And all the foregoing arguments are further strengthened by their intimate congruity with the following anecdote extracted from Berkeley's Memoir. In which, after having related how he had been despatched by the king, a few days after his arrival in the island, with "*colourable* letters to the *general;* and with others, "written with more *confidence* to *Cromwell:*" and having delivered the former, he says—"The next "morning I sent colonel Cook to Cromwell, to "let him know that I had letters, and instructions "to him from the king. He sent me word by the "same messenger that he durst not see me; it "being very dangerous to us both: and bid me "be assured, that he *would serve his majesty, as* "*long as he could do it without his own ruin: but* "*desired, that I would not expect, that he should* "*perish for his sake.*"

Surely if ever Cromwell designedly revealed, or unadvisedly betrayed, a genuine sentiment, by which his conduct was at any time actuated, or guided, here is that single and only instance. Nor can the most inveterately prejudiced withhold from him credit, to the extent here claimed, for the sincerity of his assurances. Nothing in his

subsequent conduct has belied it; not even his notoriously principal share in bringing to the scaffold his martyred sovereign. For to what do these assurances amount, but to an avowal, that in his opinion,

" melius suadet, qui ut rem facias, rem,"
" Si possis recte; si non, quocunque modo, rem;"

that upon this principle, so long as " there was " nothing better for his own purpose, than that, " which would also best serve his majesty," his services might be relied on: but that, whenever the king's destruction should better suit his purpose, no such consideration would divert him from it?

If Cromwell judged, that " there was nothing " better for his own purpose, than to let the king " escape, whither he would, *beyond sea*;" there was at least as much reason for him to judge, that he could also no how " serve his majesty better, " than by letting him so escape."

What made this an " unhappy peregrination," but that, so far from being carried beyond sea, it was in its extreme length little more than equal to a segment of the home circuit? No one surely would have advised, or wished the king to remain at Hampton Court. For, though Lord Clarendon, neither from deigning personally to " confer at large" with our puzzle-headed groom of the bedchamber, nor from reading his unintelligible narrative, could " discover any probable inducement, " that prevailed with the king to undertake that " journey, which led to so fatal an end," he has providently removed from the readers of his His-

tory all such doubt, by informing them, that "the "king did really believe, that the malice of his "gaolers was at the height, and that they did "design his murder."

"Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
"Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum."

In Cromwell's judicious observance of this wise rule an additional proof may be found of his sincerity. Since for both purposes, or rather the double purposes, of his own advantage, and of the king's too, it was equally necessary, that he should restrict himself, as it has been before observed, to making the king anxious to quit Hampton Court, and able to quit the kingdom: but so that his majesty should deceive himself with the notion, that the escape was effected by his own, or his servant's contrivance: and then (having provided, that the royal fugitive should reach in safety the safest point of the whole coast of England,) to trust to his availing himself of a success scarcely to have been expected. But to have intimated to the king, or to Hammond, that it was his intention, or even wish, that the former should transport himself beyond sea, would have been the surest way of frustrating them. Cromwell to have advised the king to go abroad, would probably alone have sufficed to keep him at home. On a general principle the one of two adverse parties may confidently deprecate, whatever the other desires.

Major Huntington, in his impeachment of Cromwell, denounced to the parliament his having by letter apprized Hammond of the king's perilous

condition at Hampton Court. And what then? "Cui bono," or "cui malo," the fact or the denunciation of it? It was of little importance, after colonel Whalley had deposed, that "the "letter shewn to the king, purporting a murder-"ous design, came from lieutenant general Crom-"well," that the lieutenant general should have communicated as much to his correspondent and cousin "dear Robin." But if the circumspect and sagacious Oliver had given so much as a hint, that, if the king should chance to land on the Isle of Wight, he was to be suffered to transport himself from thence "whither he would, beyond "sea," by the civil governor, appointed by the two houses of parliament; and by them specially exempted from military subordination; and whom he knew to be subject at times to very troublesome qualms of conscience, he would have deservedly forfeited, or rather never have acquired, that distinction and celebrity for those wonderful qualities, which his character now so deservedly enjoys.

When therefore Cromwell had learnt from the official despatches, addressed to the speakers of the two houses, "all the manner of the king's "coming to the Isle of Wight;" and how, "his "majesty desiring it, he had been removed to "Carisbrook castle, till the pleasure of the parlia-"ment should be known;" he knew, not only, that he had utterly failed of doing that which he had intended to do; and even had reason to flatter himself, that he had done; but that he had actually been the instrument of bringing to pass the

very event, of which to preclude the possibility, all his ingenuity and artifice had been so long exerted: and thus had forfeited back a stake won by the boldest cast he had yet dared to hazard. Under the pressure of a disappointment so unforeseen, so mortifying, and, as it would have been to any ordinary man, so astounding, was it not most natural for Cromwell

(Illuc, unde abii, redeo,)

to display "an unusual gaiety?"

In two recorded instances, when the great impostor seemingly gave loose to the romping horse-play of practical facetiæ, not even his heart could have been at ease, or his spirits buoyant through thoughtless levity. When he spirted in the face of a fellow-regicide the ink remaining in that pen, with which he had signed the death-warrant of his king; or when he broke up the conference, which himself had contrived, by throwing a cushion at Ludlow's head, and then running down the stairs.*

* It was soon after the surrender of Oxford, and the duke of York's escape from St. James's, that Cromwell, after the failure of a first attempt, contrived to bring together to a conference those, called the grandees of the house and army, and the common wealth's men; under pretence of endeavouring a reconciliation between the two parties: but in reality to discover what might be their several designs and inclinations; professing himself to be unresolved—"when, having learnt what he could of "the principles of those present, he took up a cushion, and flung "it at my head; and then ran down the stairs. But I overtook "him with another: which made him hasten faster than he "desired." Ludlow's Memoirs.

Our great moral poet has justly said, that—

"celestial wisdom fires the mind,
"And *makes* the happiness, she does *not find*."

But it is not so with worldly wisdom. She must suit herself, the best way she may, with, or rather to, those articles, which she finds *ready* made. There is no bespeaking of them beforehand; either according to measure, or to pattern.

As well might the traveller, who has ascended half way up the side of Etna, be supposed already to expatiate over the boundless and uninterrupted scene, which from its summit will be spread out beneath him,—as Cromwell in November 1647 to have had within his ken those objects, which twelve months afterwards were within his grasp. That interval forms the most pregnant period of his eventful life.

The seeds of anarchy had vegetated with all the rapid luxuriancy to be expected from their having been so lavishly sown in a soil by nature not ungenial, nor unprepared by culture to receive them. The mutiny in the army was already raging. The danger braved and surmounted by Cromwell's firmness and intrepidity will be greatly undervalued, if considered merely as that of an individual assailing hundreds. For if his disciples militant, whose mind, as well as bodies, he had trained to the use of arms, had rightly learnt the lesson* which he had taught them, to have (as

* That zeal in a cause like theirs admitted of no discriminating respect of persons. That he himself, if chance should bring them together in the battle would discharge his pistol at the

lord Clarendon says) "knocked on the head with "his own hand, two or three of the ringleaders," would indeed have been to "set nothing by a "bloody coxcomb:" the least return, which to a certainty he would have met with.

The subsequent revolt of the fleet was however an occurrence not less unforeseen, than appalling; though its effect proved to be equally innocuous and unhoped for. Since he could hardly have flattered himself, that so powerful an engine of destruction should become in his enemy's hand productive of no other consequences than (in the heretofore quoted words of the noble historian) "a general murmur that the fleet had lain so "long idle at the mouth of the river, when it had "been proposed that it might go to the Isle of "Wight, where they might, in the consternation "the whole kingdom was then in, probably have "been able to have released the king.....And "why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could "have been attended with no damage consider-"able, was not made, was never fully answered." Hist. vol. vi. p. 80.

Gratuitously admitting Cromwell to have been fore-warned of the risings in Kent, Essex, and Surrey; and even to have been prescient, that from an incongruent alliance between the too precipitate English royalist, and the too dilatory Scotch Presbyterians, there could be no cause to dread those well combined and simultaneous efforts, which alone could have restored to his

king, as he would against the meanest foe. "And if their con-"science would not permit them to do the like, he advised them "not to list themselves under his command."

thrones their common sovereign; he would hardly have himself undertaken the less important care of suppressing the insurgents in Wales, if he had not miscalculated the resistance, which he met with there; and little expected that the reduction of Pembroke castle would alone have detained him six weeks, and until the Scotch invaders had penetrated far into Lancashire, before he could hasten to arrest their further progress.

Correct, as confident, in anticipating his "veni, "vidi, vici" dispersion of the Scotch army, outnumbering by nearly two thirds his own, but without discipline, or subordination; led on, but not commanded, by a personally gallant chieftain, but no efficient general; he seems to have been unaware, that it had for its advanced guard the last remnant of the brave and loyal cavaliers: or else unmindful how far inferiority of number (in this case by more than one half to that of its assailants) could be compensated by discipline in the troops, skill in their commander, and valour in both.*

Finally it may be doubted, whether after the capture of Hamilton, and the annihilation of his army, Cromwell would not have trusted to the consequent ascendancy, as well as zeal, of his confederate Argyle, that Scotland should trouble him no more; or at most would have detached Lam-

* According to lord Clarendon "Cromwell himself acknowledged, that he never saw Foot fight so desperately as they did." And "Sir Marmaduke Langdale told me often afterwards, that he verily believed, if one thousand foot had then been sent to him, he should have gained the day." Hist. vol. vi. pp. 74-5.

bert to his aid; instead of repairing thither himself, if he had foreseen that his epistolary* exhortations would not suffice to overawe the parliament into an obstinate observance of the resolution, to send no more addresses to the king. Still more so if he had suspected, that the presbyterian party there, emboldened by his absence, and having regained their preponderancy, would not only enter into a treaty, but that the result of it would be to vote—"That the answer of the king to the "proposition of both houses was a ground to pro- "ceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the "kingdom.—Which passed without a division:" but in too tardy compliance, not so much with the wishes and petitions of a great majority of the whole population, as with the clamorous and tumultuous manifestations of a regenerate and predominating loyalty. It was in order to enforce the rescinding of this vote, the passing of which he was not in time to prevent, that Cromwell's return with his victorious army, however triumphant, was necessarily so far accelerated, as to leave behind him the important fortress of Pomfret Castle unreduced, and the lamented death of his favourite Rainsborough unrevenged.

Such are the reasons for a conviction, that Cromwell's policy with respect to the king's per-

* Lord Clarendon says "Cromwell had written to his friends —"What a perpetual ignominy it would be to the parliament, "that nobody abroad or at home would ever give credit to "them, if they should recede from their former vote and decla- "ration of no farther addresses to the king, and conjured them "to continue firm in that resolution." Hist. vol. vi. p. 108.

son, at that earlier period, was such as Hobbes has pronounced it to have been: and that his designs and projects were then very different from those, which under very different circumstances he subsequently formed and accomplished.

Such too are the reasons for submitting that Ashburnham was not unwarranted in affirming, that "the king, when in the Isle of Wight, had "by the entrance of duke Hamilton's army, ac- "cording to the agreement, *made in the Isle of* "*Wight;* by the insurrections in Kent, Essex, "Wales, and Pomfret, far greater hopes of being "restored, than ever he had, while in person "in arms. Besides, that after all this he had a "treaty* personally with the parliament; a thing "till then ever laboured by his majesty but still "refused by them."

The foregoing attempted enquiry into Cromwell's policy at this juncture, with respect to the king's person, has necessarily induced such length of argument, and complexity of detail, as to occasion the expediency of reminding the reader, that, at the outset of this disquisition, its purpose was announced to be two-fold. First: to shew, that no satisfactory, or even plausible, reason has been advanced in support of the assumption, that Hammond's having become entrusted with the custody

* It is the noble historian's recorded opinion that the treaty of Newport would have led to the king's restoration, if Vane had not been of the Commission. All the other members of it being sincerely, though from different motives, desirous of a reconciliation with the crown.

of his royal prisoner was the effect of Cromwell's choice, or contrivance. Secondly: that the contrary opinion may be maintained on the evidence of incontrovertible facts, infallible documents, and undeniable authorities.

If Cromwell was, as lord Clarendon has represented him, (and that such he really was, his almost unprecedented fortunes sufficiently attest,) gifted with "a wonderful understanding in the "natures and humours of men, and as great ex- "perience in applying them:" besides an "admi- "rable circumspection and sagacity," the problem on which we are now engaged, may be at once solved by first discovering, what in truth was the character of this his supposed "creature." It is indeed at a late hour now to enter upon this field; yet a diligent, exact, and curious gleaning may collect a sufficient sample, from which not only the nature of the grain may be correctly ascertained, but its quality also fairly appreciated.

Dr. Hammond, physician to Henry prince of Wales, left three sons. Of Robert, the eldest of these, no more is known than that he lived at Chertsey in Surrey; and that he was the father of colonel Robert Hammond, the subject of the present research. But the two younger were on the contrary conspicuous characters in the conflicting parties, which they embraced. Thomas in the command of a troop of horse, under the earl of Bedford, at the battle of Edgehill distinguished himself so much as to be immediately raised to the rank of colonel: he was afterwards governor of Exeter; lieutenant general of the ordnance,

and lastly a member of the regicidal tribunal: "When"—as A. Wood says—"soon after being "suddenly cut off from the face of the living by a "natural death, he saved the hangman a labour." Henry, so named after his royal sponsor, was, especially as a divine, among the most learned scholars of his time. Distinguished for devoted attachment to the constitutional establishments in church and state; equally eminent for genuine piety and unaffected morality, he alike invariably experienced, as he merited, the affectionate patronage of a truly religious and gracious king,—and the rancorous persecution of traitorous hypocrites, intent on one common subversion of the throne and altar.

Whether or not in consequence of this political schism in his family, Hammond's principles seem not to have been of any decided complexion; but to have alternately imbibed the nearest reflected hue with most camelion-like passiveness and versatility.

Athenæ Oxonienses.

Immediately on quitting the University, he first became a zealous proselyte to republicanism at the instigation of his uncle, the soldier: and next a "penitent convert" to regenerated loyalty by the exhortation of his uncle the divine. In either case,

"Avunculus excitat;"

he never acts on his own free will, or uncontrolled judgment. Nor was it in his political attachments alone, that he was guided by the choice of others. We have already found,—as he himself perhaps found,—"that he *had been married* to

"a daughter of John Hampden, by Cromwell's "advice."

It must have been soon after his presentation to the king at Hampton Court, that "Hammond "left the army" and (according to lord Clarendon) "went to the Isle of Wight at a season, "when there was no visible occasion to draw him "thither." It has been already shewn, that there was not only a visible, but a very palpable, occasion for his so withdrawing himself; namely—on account of his recent appointment to that government. A sufficient reason, not merely to obviate enquiry, but to anticipate curiosity, and prevent suspicion. But perhaps the truer, and more influential motive will now for the first time be divulged.

It is John Ashburnham, who in his Narrative relates the following occurrence.—"Colonel Ham- "mond had said to me a few days before, meeting "him on the road to London, that he was going "down to his government; because he found that "the army was resolved to break all promises "with the king; and that he would have nothing "to do with such perfidious actions."*

But before proceeding to point out, how much the whole of Hammond's subsequent conduct uniformly corresponds with this profession, it may be meet to notice some antecedent circumstances,

* "By the way I asked Mr. Ashburnham, if he had any ac- "quaintance with Hammond the governor. He replied not "very much; yet he had lately had some discourse with him "upon the highway near Kingston; and found him not very "averse to his majesty."—Berkeley's Memoirs.

which argue strongly in favour of his sincerity; and in excuse of that credulity for which Ashburnham complains of having been so severely and unfairly censured.

Long previously to the king's quitting Hampton Court, it is evident, that there were among the officers of the army, and even among such, as with far more reason than Hammond might be considered as "of nearest trust with Cromwell—" some in whom all sense of honour, good faith and loyalty was not totally extinct. Of these, major Huntington and colonel Cook have been already noticed.

Mrs. Hutchinson further says in her Memoirs—"The king by reason of his daily converse with "the officers began to be trinkling with them; "and not only then, but before; and had drawn "in some of them to engage to corrupt others to "fall in with him." She afterwards adds:—"The king made use of this advantage" (that is of Ashburnham and Berkeley's being permitted to attend upon him) "to corrupt many of the "officers to revolt; which some time after they "did, and paid the forfeiture with their lives."

When all this "trinkling" was going forward so extensively, and so successfully too, as we are here told, it would have been strange indeed if the nephew of "the king's favourite and beloved "chaplain" (for such are the epithets bestowed on Dr. Hammond) should have been overlooked; or that there should have been more difficulty in detaching him from Cromwell's influence; or in disgusting him with such base and perfidious

conduct, than Huntington, Cook and others. Who had no uncles distinguished for pre-eminent devotion to the royal cause, or for a more than usual participation of the royal favour.

When we last saw colonel Hammond, it was near Kingston on his way to the Isle of Wight, and in conversation with Ashburnham. We next find him between Carisbrook Castle and Newport overtaken and accosted by sir John Berkeley. The reader may possibly recollect, that sir John on being requested "*to open the matter*" acquiesced with much alacrity, and effect. But instead of waiting

"Rite maturos aperire partus,"

at once delivered himself of his message with a precipitancy, which by sympathetic affection, had well nigh proved fatal to the governor. "Ham-"mond (says Berkeley) grew so pale, and fell "into such a trembling, that I did really believe "he would have fallen off his horse: which "trembling continued with him at least an hour "after."

Ashburnham, (excepting in one instance) always less circumstantially communicative than his colleague, only states that—"the governor at the "first seemed very much discomposed." Now whether Hammond trembled for at least an hour after hearing Berkeley's communication; or only at the first seemed very much discomposed; either the one or the other, differing only in degree, must be allowed to tally with the declaration of his resolution to withdraw himself from the army,

" because he would have nothing to do with such " perfidious actions." Since he now, on a sudden found himself likely to be forced to take a part in that very drama, of which he had wished to avoid the being so much as a spectator.

It may perhaps be further remembered, that, during this at least hour of trembling, Hammond " broke out into passionate and distracted ex- " pressions:" and among others, we are told that, he exclaimed; " what between my duty to his " majesty, and *gratitude for this fresh obligation* " *of confidence;* and my observing *my trust to the* " *army*, I shall be confounded."

See page 352.

That we should here read *parliament*, instead of *army*, must at first appear an extravagant and outrageous proposition. Yet upon reflection it may be found not only warrantable; but more reasonably to be admitted, than rejected.

Nothing can be more clearly and decisively demonstrable (as it has in truth been already demonstrated) than that the *governor of the Isle of Wight* had *no trust* to be observed by him to *the army*. From all military subjection and dependance he had been formally pronounced exempt by that act of parliament which alone could have invested him with the absolute and unlimited authority appertaining to that *civil* appointment. Even the clause, by which the dignity of the commander in chief individually had been reserved, was rather a negative confirmation of the enactment, than a positive exception to it. First: by the special and express declaration, that Hammond was removable only by a concurrent vote

of the two houses of parliament. And secondly by the non-existence at that time of a pretence for any intercourse between him and the army. Since so far from a corporal's guard, there was not even a single rank and file of soldiers ("be- "longing to the army") within the precincts of his government.*

But that, which is here of more importance than the fact itself of Hammond's having *no trust from the army to observe* is the proof of his having so considered himself. This proof is, that to the parliament alone he officially notified the king's arrival: and at its sole disposal, will, and pleasure, declared, that his majesty would be detained in Carisbrook Castle. If therefore Berkeley be correct in reporting Hammond's words, the latter must, like many a man in a state of less embarrassment and trepidation, have said one thing for another: and must have already been what he says he shall be,—"confounded."

It is however the other difficulty of Hammond's dilemma, which it is most of all material to consider: his "*gratitude to the king* for this *fresh* "obligation of confidence." A fresh obligation necessarily implies, at least one, antecedent obligation. If then, as A. Wood states, Hammond was only twenty-one years old, and had not long

* Such was the state of the Isle of Wight at the time of Hammond's appointment, and of the king's subsequent arrival. And from Fairfax's letter to the parliament dated Nov. 21st, eight days after the latter event, and in consequence of it, we see that the commander-in-chief did not consider himself competent without its authority to send any troops thither.

quitted Magdalen Hall, when in the year 1642, by the persuasion of his uncle Thomas, he joined the parliament's army; how, where, and when, anterior to that time, could this Oxonian son of the Chertsey esquire have been in the way of experiencing the "obligations of royal confidence;" or the son-in-law of Hampden and "creature of "Cromwell" within the subsequently intervening five years, until the date of the so often mentioned presentation, and recommendation of him, "as a "penitent convert," by his uncle Henry at Hampton Court.

Surely then these words, or rather passionate expressions, of Hammond accord well with, if they do not prove—*first:* Ant. Wood's anecdote of the gracious reception and kissing of hands. *Secondly:* sir John Bowring's relation of the king's conversation with him in the gallery at Sion House respecting the probability of his majesty's soon being in the power of Mr. Lisle, of the Isle of Wight, from whom Hammond, as a stranger there, was said to receive his directions. *Thirdly:* Ashburnham's deposition of Hammond's avowed sentiments and reasons for withdrawing from the army, on their casually meeting on the road near Kingston. Surely too all these testimonies collectively countenance the suggestion, heretofore submitted, that it was the king, and not Ashburnham, who so fatally relied on Hammond, because he was nephew to his majesty's favourite chaplain.*

* "This man was entirely dependent on Cromwell; yet be-
"cause he was nephew to Dr. Hammond the king's favourite

Had not therefore the most authentic of all historians, by the unusual preface of his emphatic —" Certain it is,"—enhanced the usual peremptoriness of his authoritative averments, when oracularly pronouncing, that " the king *never* " *thought* of going to the Isle of Wight," a very different conviction might be deduced from these data. Since there is no cause to suspect sir J. Bowring and A. Wood of having insidiously conspired to mislead the world. For then it would have been by some tale of a more obvious con-

" chaplain, it was thought proper to have recourse to him in " the present exigence, when no other rational expedient could " be thought of." Hume's History of England.

In an exigence so momentous and desperate when there was no choice, nor even so much as an alternative, could it be deemed improper to have recourse even to an irrational expedient, when "*no other could be thought of?*" But the case here is, that, however unknown to Hume, there was another and a very different expedient: one, which had been originally suggested by Ashburnham, and for a time adopted by the king. Until, when within twenty miles of the island he declared that " his mind was changed" (very unfortunately; but with him not very unusually.) An expedient, which no one bearing in mind the well ascertained state of the Isle of Wight, and disposition of its inhabitants, can deny to have been equally practicable, and far more " rational." Which was, that the king should have secreted himself in sir John Oglander's house; without in the first instance having any recourse at all to the governor. There his majesty would have been " close to the water-side, " might have taken boat, and disposed of his person whither he " pleased beyond sea." Whereas Titchfield house afforded no such facilities; while, on the contrary, its distance from Carisbrook Castle necessarily, for the interchange of message and answer, incurred a delay hazardous in the extreme; since every moment of it was pregnant with fatality.

nection, and readier application, that the one would have sought to accredit the fiction of the other. While, on the contrary it has been ascertained on "confirmation strong as proof of holy "writ," that while Berkeley and Ashburnham were drawing up their respective "Narrations of "all, that passed in that affair" it was "without "any inclination, that one should see what the "other had writ; having contracted a very avowed "animosity against each other." All these, in themselves "trifles light as air," acquire weight, when brought in contact with positive facts; for some of which lord Clarendon himself has perhaps inadvertently vouched. Such as first; that the king "as soon as freed from the apprehension of "the guards, and the horse quarters rode towards "the south-west, and that part of Hampshire, "which led to the New Forest;" and consequently to the Isle of Wight. Secondly: that in its immediate neighbourhood (at Titchfield house) the king awaited Hammond's answer to that message, which according to Berkeley (who swears, that he "delivered it word for word,") commenced with such gracious declarations of confidence, and reliance on his honour and loyalty, as fully justify the already quoted passage from the Athenæ Oxonienses—"His majesty, after he had been "frighted from Hampton Court, did choose rather "to put himself into his hands, rather than any "other."

Hume has justly observed, that "lord Claren-"don is positive that the king, when he fled from "Hampton Court, had no intention of going to

" this island: and indeed all the circumstances of " that Historian's narrative, which we have here " followed, strongly favour this opinion." Strange indeed it would be, if they did not.

Ludlow says—" Cromwell, as well as the king " had a good opinion of Hammond." How highly Hammond stood in Cromwell's opinion the fact of his having been married by him to Hampden's daughter is a proof, as incontestably decisive, as the misapplication of it, with a view to superinduce on nearness of trust indiscriminate reliance, and unlimited confidence, is nugatory and futile. But it becomes absurd, when further extended to the implied, rather than expressed, assumption of his having been employed, as Cromwell's chosen agent to seize and imprison the king. This assumption, already so often denied, as matter of argument, is now at last, as matter of fact, disproved. For whether it was Cromwell's purpose (as the lord Holles unwarrantably asserts) in sending Hammond to the Isle of Wight, to provide the king with a gaoler; or whether it was (as Hobbes more reasonably concludes,) in driving the king thither, to prompt, and enable him to effect his escape out of the kingdom, " certain " it is," that this purpose, whatever it may have been, was not the sort of secret, with which he thought that Hammond might be advantageously, prudently, or safely entrusted. Else, when Berkeley so discreetly " opened the matter" by his question to one, who so far from being an Œdipus, was no Davus, of " who he thought was very " near him;" in order that he might answer it

himself with—" even the good king Charles," the governor so far from having been nearly unhorsed by the intelligence, and " trembling, for at least " an hour after," (according to sir John,) would not have so much as " seemed at first discon- " certed" (according to Ashburnham) even for a moment.

It may be said, that this was but the " unreal " mockery" of a counterfeit surprise; in which is to be recognised the well-lectured pupil of the great professor of hypocrisy. Be it so:—if so it be. Thus will a fresh proof, or argument be supplied, similar to one, by which this Vindication has already been unwittingly strengthened.

That position may be safely ceded, which the enemy must instantly find to be untenable, unless by abandoning another of more importance. The dilemma, to which lord Clarendon and " all" his " men" are here reduced, is this. Either Hammond's surprise was real or feigned. If real, he himself could not have been cognizant, if feigned, Ashburnham must have been ignorant, of Cromwell's supposed design. That either of these two was engaged in the plot, has not been made to appear: but that one of them could not have been so engaged, has been, as above, demonstrated. Equally evident it is from the parts respectively assigned to each, that both were alike essentially necessary to the very existence of this conspiracy. By the decoy-man without his duck, or by the decoy-duck without her master, no wild fowl can be taken. In Ashburnham's bringing of Hammond to Titchfield house there can

therefore have been no "*treachery*." And whenever a wiser man, fully and duly apprized of all the perils, and fairly weighing all the difficulties, of his situation shall have pointed out some more "rational expedient;" then and not till then, will the charge of unpardonable "*folly*" be established.* Violent, in the extreme, as was Ashburnham's ulterior "remedy;" it was not more so, than the imminent danger for which it was "provided." And how was this danger incurred? Was it not the *king's own* message, which Berkeley delivered word for word: and was it not *Berkeley's own* preface, with which he "opened the matter?" For neither of these indiscretions can Ashburnham in any degree be held responsible.

As the criminating depositions, which force extorts, or ingenuity elicits, from a reluctant witness, go further towards a conviction of the culprit's guilt, than the accusatory allegation spontaneously obtruded by a mercenary informer, or vindictive prosecutor; so the unintentional exculpation, which sparingly transpires from "a

* "If his political prudence was not sufficient to extricate "him from so perilous a situation, he may be excused; since "even after the event, when it is commonly easy to correct all "errors, one is at a loss to determine what conduct, in his cir-"cumstances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, "and preserved the fate of the nation." Such is Hume's just observation, when speaking generally of Charles's unhappy fate. Would the same be less just, if applied particularly to Ashburnham's situation, and conduct, at this juncture?

Hume has been already quoted for avowing that his judgement has been formed on Clarendon's narrative of this transaction.

" very avowed animosity," is a better test of innocence, than the lavished warranty of an ill-disguised self-interest, or suspected fellow-feeling.

They, who read Berkeley's Memoirs, need not Clarendon's averment, that it has been written in the spirit of " a very avowed animosity" against Ashburnham, and for the purpose of casting on him the whole blame, of which the writer would willingly exonerate himself. The feeling, and the design betray themselves in every page. Yet not superfluous alike is the noble Historian's declaration, that " in truth he *believes*" the right honourable memorialist, (as of a *certainty* he *knows* the king) to have quitted Hampton Court, without any the least notion, surmise, or suspicion, that the Isle of Wight was the place of their immediate destination. How, and whence the chancellor's strange knowledge of this the king's strange ignorance was obtained, we are not told. " Certain it is," that it could only have been from a hearsay report; which (not less " certain it is," nor less strange) seems never to have reached any other ears. But what gave rise to his belief, that Berkeley was no better informed on this point, no more apprised of this resolution, than even the king, is clearly ascertained. For this, as he says, sir John took care to publish. Adding moreover that he " knew nothing of the Isle of Wight, or of " the governor:" and that from first to last he had disapproved of the scheme.

It cannot therefore have been to serve himself; for here he had no occasion for it: it cannot have been to favour his colleague; for he never had

any inclination for it: it cannot have been to deceive the world; for (as we are told of the lord Langdale) "he had not any temptation to it," that in the sequel of Berkeley's most circumstantial narrative are found proofs of Hammond's utter unfitness and incapacity to execute this supposed commission, as undeniably convincing, as those already afforded, that in point of fact, it never was confided to him.

After having related, that Hammond, on being told what engagement was required of him by the king, expressed his "wish that his majesty had "reposed himself absolutely upon him, because it "would have been much the better for both;" Berkeley proceeds to say, that he returned for answer, that "since we desired it, he would say; "that, because he believed his majesty had made "choice of him, as a person of honour and honesty, "to lay this great trust upon; therefore he would "not deceive his majesty's expectation." Which declaration not being deemed sufficiently explicit, he added, that "he would further say that, which "he was sure ought to content every reasonable "man; which was, that he did believe his majesty "relied on him, as on a person of honour and "honesty: and therefore he did engage himself "to us to perform whatever could be expected "from a person of honour and honesty."*

* "The message," from the king which Berkeley had "delivered word for word," after some introductory gracious expressions, having been, that "his majesty not to surprise him, "had thought fit to send us before to advertise him: and to "desire his promise to protect his majesty and his servants to

Such was the answer, of which Hammond chose, that Ashburnham should be the bearer while Berkeley should remain with him as a hostage. This arrangement is no sooner agreed to, than it is reversed. Berkeley is to go, and Ashburnham is to stay. And at last the final determination is, that both are to go, and Hammond himself with them.

Is it credible, is it possible, that with so "won-

"the best of his power: and if, it should happen, that he might "not be able to do it, then the governor should oblige himself "to leave us in as good condition as he found us: that is suffer "us to make our escape."

Hume justly observes—"This promise, it is evident, would "have been a very slender security." For it was surely implied in the engagement to which Hammond had pledged himself. But not equally just is the subsequent remark—"Yet even with-"out *exacting it, Ashburnham imprudently if not treacherously* "brought Hammond to Titchfield:" Now admitting the possibility of Ashburnham's having been both the most treacherous of knaves, and the most imprudent of fools, how could he have had the power, when in Carisbrook Castle, to "exact" a promise from the governor? Who certainly might have detained both, as he insisted on detaining one, of the king's two messengers. Or else, suffering them to depart, apprized as he was by Berkeley, that "good King Charles was very near," he might, as Ashburnham says, "by sending spies have easily dis-"covered the place of the king's concealment." Nor is it more correctly affirmed to have been a necessary consequence of Hammond's having been brought to Titchfield, that "the king "was obliged to put himself into his hands, and to attend him "to Carisbrook Castle." The truth is, that his majesty's too great confidence, not less fatal than if it had been unbounded, had so far placed him in Hammond's power, as nothing could extricate him, but a measure, which neither his sense of honour, nor his humanity, would suffer him to adopt.

"derful an understanding in the natures and "humours of men, and so great an experience in "applying them;" with such "an admirable cir- "cumspection and sagacity," that Cromwell from among so many "of nearest trust with him," and therefore best known to him, should have selected for his confidential and discretionary agent, on a momentous and critical occasion, "a man of "such a feeble temper;" so irresolute and vacillating; so absurdly scrupulous, and conscientiously trifling. One, who for the paltry observance of a quibbling distinction between the words, and the sense, of an engagement; and more influenced by the letter, than the spirit of a pledge, would thus risk the loss of that prize, which he had been purposely sent to secure; and hazard the failure of an enterprize at the very moment of its successful accomplishment? And moreover such a heedless, confiding simpleton, as spontaneously and unconditionally to surrender himself, the "provided "gaoler," into the absolute power of his intended prisoner?

It was not thus, that Joyce had executed a former similar commission: nor that Harrison and Rainsborough, and Pride, and Ewer, and Cobbet, (all, as they

should be, made of sterner stuff,")

have done credit to the choice of their employer; and to the accuracy, with which lord Clarendon has delineated their employer's character.

In reason equally incredible, and morally speaking alike impossible it is, that Cromwell should forcibly have despatched on such a service as this,

a more than reluctant agent. That such in truth Hammond was, is ascertained on higher authorities than either Ashburnham's Narrative, wherein we read of the former's declared disapprobation of the king's treatment, when they casually met and conversed on the highway; or than that part of Berkeley's Memoir now under consideration. It is lord Clarendon himself who says "colonel Hammond had, before the expiration of the treaty, writ "many letters to the parliament, to be discharged "from that government, and from the care of "the king's person; and the officers of the army "seemed wonderfully offended with him for mak-"ing the demand; and he got himself looked "upon as under a cloud."

Hist. Vol. vi. p. 203.

Of these many letters to parliament it may suffice to subjoin the following extracts from those of the earliest, and latest, dates, in order to show how much Hammond detested, deprecated, and deplored that office, which not Cromwell's choice, but in the first instance the king's confidence, and secondly that of the parliament had forced upon him. So also will that required corroboration be produced, without which Dr. Lingard declares the most authentic of historians not to be safely trusted. So too at least will be established one exception to M. Villemain's generally just remark; that "this portion of lord Clarendon's History is throughout at variance with all public Registers."

"To the earl of Manchester, &c. &c.

"But my lord I most humbly beg it of you, that I may be discharged from my employment:

" it being a burden insupportable for me. I have " entreated my lord of Denbigh to report my hum- " ble desires to your lordships at large concern- " ing the same."

Lords' Journals, 28th Dec. 1647.

From the date of this letter it must have been written within six weeks from the time, when the burden insupportable had been first laid upon him by parliament.

Omitting several other letters, in which the same request is earnestly repeated, the last dated the 20th of November, (when he quitted his go- 1648. vernment without having been formally released from it) concludes in the following words.

" And if for a reward for my having faithfully " and honestly discharged my trust, and for all " other hazard, labour and blood, which I have " undergone and spent in your service, I may now " receive my discharge from a burden so much too " heavy for me, I shall rest fully satisfied; bless " my God; and thank your lordships."

As soon as it was known that Cromwell had suppressed the mutiny of the agitators, Berkeley says:

" And now Mr. Ashburnham and the governor " were frequent and fervent in private confe- " rences: and, as I have heard,* came to particu-

* Berkeley not having mentioned from whom he heard this result of the frequent and fervent conferences between the governor of the island and the groom of the bedchamber, it may be a fair surmise, that this informant was no other than the same anonymous " gentleman of good worth and quality," with whom he afterwards became acquainted in Holland. And from

" lars of accommodation for him, in case of the " king's recovery: insomuch that the governor " seemed solicitous of nothing so much, as that " the army should resume its wonted discipline, " and clear themselves of their importunate and " impertinent adjutators. And therefore sent his " chaplain,† immediately to the army to conjure " them to make use of their success upon the ad- " jutators."

" Two or three days after he moved earnestly, " that his majesty would send one of us three to " the army with colourable letters to the general; " but that he should write with confidence to " Cromwell and Ireton. To whom he would also " write: and did: conjuring them by their *en-* " *gagement*, by their *interest*, by their *honour* and " their *consciences*, to come to a speedy close with " the king: and not to expose themselves still " to the fantastic giddiness of the adjutators."

When Berkeley arrived at the head-quarters, " there being a general meeting of the officers at " that moment" he says,—" After an hour's wait- " ing I was admitted; and after I had delivered " my compliment and letters to the general, I was " desired to withdraw: and having attended half

whom he learnt (that, which he never of himself could have suspected,) that Hammond had been induced contrary to his original decision to detain Ashburnham, from a notion that the king would less readily dispense with his attendance and services than those of sir John.

† " To this end he sent one Mr. Troughton, his chaplain to " the army."

Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 96.

" an hour I was called in. The general (Fairfax) " looked very severely upon me; and after his " manner said, that they were the parliament's " army: and therefore could not say any thing to " his majesty's motion for peace: but must refer " those matters to them, to whom they would send " his majesty's letter. I then looked about upon " Cromwell and Ireton: who saluted me very " coldly, and had their countenance quite chang- " ed towards me; and shewed me Hammond's " letter, which I had delivered to them; and " smiled with much disdain upon it."

As in truth well they might. For could aught but disdain and derision be excited in their minds by Hammond's thus obtesting the inviolable sanctity of *their engagements;* adjuring them by *their sense of honour:* and appealing to the dictates of *their conscience?* More especially with the concomitant friendly hint, as to how they (Cromwell and Ireton!!) might best promote their *own interests.*

Such having been the contents of this letter, it may be fairly presumed, that the most unequivocal and convincing proof, ever given by Cromwell, of Hammond's being of " nearest trust" with him, was, the one, recorded by our noble historian, when he advised the colonel to marry Miss Hampden.

Numerous are the examples, which might be adduced to shew, that those, whom the world most thought, and who most thought themselves, " of nearest trust with Cromwell" were only his greatest dupes. If he and Fairfax had not been

contemporaries, it never would have been demonstrated, how far dupery between man and man may be carried. We here find the sapient lord general so late as at the close of November 1647, still believing, that it is the parliament's army, which he is commanding. And though Hammond more enlightened by that "trinkling," mentioned by Mrs. Hutchinson to have been so successfully practised at Hampton-Court, could not have been in the same error and ignorance as to the army's incapacity to treat and to deliberate and to have an opinion, and will of its own, he felt, that such as it had been, and as it yet nominally continued to be, such it ought still to have really been. For hitherto there had been no openly avowed rupture between the two discordant parties, however mutually jealous and distrustful of each other. But so soon as he had found himself in a situation to verify by his own experience, that "no man can serve two masters," it is manifest —that there was no hesitation on his part in making the option; and in deciding that his obedience as a soldier, had merged in his allegiance as a subject. It is equally manifest, that this his preference was soon known to each of the two rival powers: and that he as entirely obtained the confidence and good opinion of the parliament: as that he incurred the suspicion and ill-will of the army.*

* Subsequently, and ere long, it was proved, that no groundless jealousy had dictated that amendment, already noticed, to the original form of his appointment as governor of the Isle of Wight: namely; that he should be continued in that office,

To place beyond the reach of denial, cavil or doubt, each of these three points, all materially, if not equally, important, the evidences are so superfluously abundant, as that (a selection of them sufficing to convince) the reader's time and patience may be spared without detriment or risk to the cause here advocated.

1°. If Hammond's fidelity to the trust reposed in him by the parliament be not as yet apparent enough from his immediate announcement of the king's unexpected presence in the Isle of Wight; and from the other transcribed contents of his first letter; nor by the extracts already given from two of those "many letters," said by lord Clarendon to have been written in order to obtain his so much wished for dismissal and release, at the hands of those, whom alone he acknowledged as of competent authority to cancel that warrant, which they alone could have decreed; the deficiency is thus easily supplied.

Sir Philip Warwick has given the following account.—"I prayed his majesty's leave, that I "might utter my thoughts concerning his present "condition, in relation to his station in that "place: and I told him, I understood the governor "usually prided himself in saying, that the person "of the king was put into his hands by the par-"liament: and that he would obey no directions "concerning the same but from the parliament."

"until the lords and commons in parliament assembled shall "otherwise order:" instead of "quamdiu se bene gesserit:" and that no superfluous precaution had expressly absolved him from all military subordination saving to Fairfax alone.

Sir John Bowring, in confirmation of the above testimony relates, that when Ewer came commissioned by Fairfax, at the instigation of Cromwell, to supersede Hammond, that "he heard the latter "say, that he had the charge and care of the "king's person by order of both houses of parliament." As to what he further said it may be best known by his own detailed statement in a letter, addressed to the speaker of the house of peers, dated Carisbrook Castle, Nov. 28. "My "lords. Colonel Ewer is come into this island. "At his coming I demanded of him to know "what instructions he had, and from whom: "because, though I held myself obliged to obey "*the general's* commands in going to him, yet *I* "*had a trust upon me from the parliament, no way,* "*as I conceived, relating to the general, or army:* "which I must be faithful unto to the utmost of "my power. And that I ought not to give obedience to any, save to *the parliament alone, that* "*had entrusted me, and only had power so to do.* "I further plainly told him, that, if he or any "other should so proceed to violate my instructions from the parliament, whilst I continued so "in trust, I held myself bound in conscience, "honour, and duty, to oppose them to the utmost: "and accordingly, God assisting me, I was resolved "to do." Lords' Journals."

See at page 334 the suggested emendations of Berkeley's statement of Hammond's scruples respecting "his observing his trust to the *army*."

2°. When in the house of commons Cromwell (as our noble Historian has affirmed) expatiating on Hammond's honesty and integrity, more especially vouched for his devotion to the will of parliament, as being such as to preclude "all jealousy

" of his being corrupted by any one;" (the party then forming the majority, having six months earlier, according to the same high authority, resolved to commit this vouching eulogist to the Tower; as the sure and only means of laying the refractory and contumacious spirit, which he had raised in the army, and continued to foment:) it is reasonable to expect, that some excitement might have been produced on minds, " not easily " jealous," or prone to suspicion. But when it is further added that—" *all* this relation" (its panegyrical peroration of course included) was " made " with so unusual a gaiety, that all men con- " cluded, that the king was where he wished he " should be:" how strange it is, that even " the " drowsy dull presbyterian humour" of the fascinated and spell-bound Fairfax himself should not have been roused from its baleful lethargy.* Yet however strange, it is not less true, that from this moment may be dated the apparent origin of that unbounded trust, and reliance, which the parliament placed in Hammond; and which terminated only in the extinction of its own functions and power.

The first proof was given in its continuing him in his government, together with further entrusting

* " The agitators, who were first formed by him (Cromwell) " to oppose the parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of " their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, " or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull presbyte- " rian humour of Fairfax; who wished nothing that Cromwell " did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass." Clarendon's History, vol. v. p. 504.

to him absolutely, the sole custody of the royal prisoner. How gradually this confidence grew, and this reliance strengthened, may be traced through resolutions, orders, and votes, of discretionary powers, extended; of stipendiary emoluments, augmented; and of remunerative grants, perpetuated. To all which may be added the perhaps not less unequivocal, though certainly less acceptable, testimony of satisfaction and approbation, in the persevering non-compliance with his urgent solicitude, and reiterated supplications, to be discharged from the "intolerable burden" of his detested office.

When the commissioners were about to depart on their return to the parliament, after having presented the four bills, they required, that Hammond should be present at the reading of the king's answer; which the earl of Denbigh had refused to carry back unopened; and persisted in that requisition, notwithstanding his majesty's "objections."—(Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 100.)

This was surely a mark of consideration, as well as of confidence. It occurred at the end of December 1647; that is about six weeks after the king's arrival in the island.—

"Commons' Journals,

Feb. 18, 1648."

"Resolved—That it be *wholly* left to colonel "Robert Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, "to appoint such persons, as shall attend the king; "not exceeding the number of thirty: and from "time to time to place, or displace, such of them, "as *he shall think fit*."

"Commons' Journals, 15 Nov. 1647."

"The hearty thanks of the house were ordered "to be returned to the governor of the Isle of "Wight for his faithful service, and his prudent "management of these matters."

Having thus shewn that Hammond's attachment and devotion to the parliament were really such, as in the house of commons Cromwell had perhaps unconsciously pronounced them to be; (that is, in probability not a little more than he believed, and to a certainty incomparably more than he wished;) so as in truth "*not to be cor-*"*rupted by any body*;"—and how much the parliament became more and more sensible, and confident, of his fidelity and zeal; there now remains only by a few instances to redeem the 3*rd* pledge; that of proving how far he incurred the distrust and displeasure of the army.

3. That Hammond was not viewed as among the brightest of his Jupiter's satellites long before "he had got himself" (as lord Clarendon says) "looked upon as under a cloud," is discoverable once more in the following extract of a letter addressed to him by Ireton—"We are earnest with "Harrison to come over to thee for assistance in "the way of advice; and I hope he will come."

As in these few words is comprised the sufficient proof, so in the comment on them will be found the brief abstract, and epitomized aggregate, of all the foregoing arguments. For what purpose can our noble Historian's fact, or rather assumption, of Hammond's having left the army, and

gone to the Isle of Wight a few days before the king's escape, "when there was no visible occa-"sion for it;" have been coupled with that of his being "of nearest trust with Cromwell;" other than that, which he has so successfully effected, of impressing the world with the same erroneous persuasion, entertained by the lord Holles, that Cromwell prevailed on the king to repair to that island, because he had there "provided him with "a gaoler,"

Were this however to be, as it safely might, admitted, it cannot be denied on the other hand, that Cromwell must have despatched Hammond, either with, or without, instruction, how to execute his commission. Supposing the affirmative of this proposition; it is not probable, that any form, or circumstances, under which the case might present itself, could have been overlooked by that "admirable circumspection and sagacity" for which Cromwell was so much distinguished. But supposing the negative, such omission could only have proceeded from a thorough conviction, formed on approved experience, of Hammond's judgement, decision, and firmness; that all instructions how to conduct himself, even in a situation so difficult and critical, were superfluous and inexpedient. Now here is proof, that Cromwell could neither have given him the requisite instructions for his conduct; nor credit for the possession of these requisite qualifications. If then the one of these two courses was essential towards his forming a hope of succeeding in this his presumed enterprise, and it be demonstrable, that he

pursued neither; the only natural conclusion is that, which from other premises has already been so often deduced; namely, that it never was by any contrivance, project, or wish of his, that the king was detained a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle. Else why this earnest desire, and anxious hope, that Hammond might soon have Harrison's "*assistance by way of advice?*"

Then let the date of the letter be observed in which this earnest hope is expressed, Nov. 21st, 1647. That is eight days after the die had been cast, and the main chance decided, by the king's voluntary surrender of his person.

What was in Ireton's opinion the advice, with which the governor stood most in need of being assisted, must have been such as the chosen coadjutor was best qualified to supply. And thus the erroneous notions entertained of Hammond's less conspicuous character may be rectified on the more notorious infamy of Harrison's. Hume has said of Ireton that "he was a man who had grafted "the soldier on the lawyer." If it be allowable here to draw a similar metaphor from the same source, it may be said, that Harrison, by a more complex horticultural process, had inarched the soldier on the attorney's clerk; previously budded on the butcher. Lord Clarendon's account of him is, that he "was the son of a butcher near "Nantwich in Cheshire, and had been bred up "under a lawyer of good account in those parts." On which the lord chancellor, probably as being by professional experience better able than others to pronounce judgement on such causes and

Hist. Vol. vi. p. 219.

effects, observes,—" which kind of education in-
" clines young men to more pride than any other
" kind of breeding; and disposes them to be prag-
" matical and insolent."—But he has omitted, as unnecessary, to indicate to what characteristics his earlier education was likely to incline, and his first breeding to dispose, amidst habitually familiarizing scenes of ceaseless and remorseless slaughter.

Notwithstanding Ireton's earnestness, it is probable, that for some cause or other, Harrison did not go over to the governor-gaoler's assistance. At least if he did, " certain it is," that it was of no avail. Although heretofore Hammond had shewn himself to be one, on whom good counsel was not thrown away. From this letter alone may be therefore sufficiently ascertained the light, in which Hammond had been regarded by Cromwell, before he " got himself to be looked upon " as under a cloud" by the army. And hence, once more, may be appreciated the reasonableness of the notion, that the former was the gaoler provided for the king by the latter. Since here it is evident, that no sooner had the governor been further constituted and appointed *by the parliament* to the custody of *it's* royal prisoner, than Cromwell, unable to displace, or recall him, attempts virtually to supersede him by an assistant " in the way of *advice*."

Herbert relates that " lieutenant colonel Cobbet, " an officer in colonel Fortescue's regiment, (Joyce-
" like) came unexpectedly to Newport with a com-
" manded party of horse; and in the first place

" made enquiry for colonel Hammond's quarters " in the town: having orders to secure him. The " reason unknown: unless from an apprehension, " the despotic agitators had, that he was too much " a courtier: which they approved not of. How- " beit, being premonished, he evaded him, though " very narrowly."

The noble Historian having related, that " there " were many secret consults" among the officers of the army, how to be rid of the king; and " what " to do with him;" concerning which three different opinions were stoutly maintained: one of which was " for the taking away his life by poison; " which would make least noise; or, if that could " not be so easily contrived, by assassination; for " which there were hands enough ready to be " employed," observes, " this party might proba- " bly have carried it, if Hammond could have " been wrought upon to have concurred; but he " had yet too much conscience to expose himself " to that infamy; and without his privity and " connivance it could not be done." Hist. Vol. vi. p. 224-6.

In what manner was effected their necessarily preliminary riddance of Hammond, after Cobbet's failure, has been fully detailed by sir J. Bowring: who concludes his Narrative thus: " As soon as " Ewer had got over from Cowes to Titchfield " with colonel Hammond, he dismounts him: " puts him into a hackney coach, brought thither " for that purpose; and with a small guard sends " this great governor to Windsor Castle, a pri- " soner, and his horse back again into the island: " where colonel Hammond never returned."

It appears indeed from this time, if not from that of his having left the army and retiring to his government, that Hammond bade farewell

"to all quality,
"Pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war."

For Ludlow relates the conversation, which he had with Cromwell; who, with a view to the removal of that stern republican, was pressing him to accept the command of the cavalry in Ireland; and, when passing in review the several officers, who might be thought competent, in order to find some objection to each of them: (as for instance to "colonel Algernon Sidney, by reason of his "relation to some, who were in the king's in-"terest;") when he came to mention colonel "Hammond, his objection, I remember, was that "by his late deportment, with relation to the "king, he had so disobliged the army, that he "apprehended he would not be acceptable to "them."*

It is now more than time to enable the reader to form his own judgement, as to the authenticity of those letters, already so often referred to, and quoted. Other passages of which it is become

* That Hammond was never more employed in any military capacity is ascertained by the following notice of his death in Whitelock's Memorials.

"Oct. 24, 1654.—Colonel Hammond, one of the *parliament's* "*commissioners*, died at Dublin."

"Nov. 2.—Colonel Hammond's funeral solemnized at Dublin "with much state."

This was surely a civil employment. So indeed was (as it has been heretofore contended) his government of the Isle of Wight.

expedient more largely to transcribe. The document is of that importance, that, if sufficient proof be adduced of its being such as it professes to be, the results of its contents may be to establish a case, to which the incredulous will hardly demur, or the sceptical except.

In the year 1766 were published "Letters be-"tween colonel Robert Hammond, governor of "the Isle of Wight, and the committee of lords "and commons at Derby House, general Fairfax, "lieutenant-general Cromwell; commissary-gene-"ral Ireton," &c.*

Of these letters the following account is given in the preface to them—"The papers now offered "to the public relate to so interesting an event in "the English history, not hitherto understood, "that no apology seems necessary for taking this "method of preserving authentic copies of them "from the like unfortunate accident, that con-"sumed the originals in the fire, which proved "fatal to a great number of other valuable manu-"scripts in the chambers of the honourable Mr. "Yorke in Lincoln's Inn, on the 27th of June "1754."

* To these inedited Letters is prefixed a reprint of John Ashburnham's letter published in 1648, which will be given in the Appendix. And also the king's letter to sir Henry Vane, the younger, together with the king's engagement to carry with him to the Scotch army none but his two nephews and Ashburnham; which being among the papers of sir Edward Nicholas has afforded to the venerable Editor of them so very fair an opportunity of declaring his conviction, that it is with great appearance of truth, that Ashburnham has been suspected of treachery.

The lapse of more than sixty years may render expedient for the satisfaction of most readers of the present day that information, which at the time of the publication would have been needless and superfluous. Nothing was then more generally known and admitted, than that, if there was a man, whose sagacity, penetration and discernment no literary fraud or counterfeit, could elude, such was the eminently distinguished personage here named. Curious historical researches had always been among the chief amusements of his relaxation from the severer study, and of his leisure from the toilsome practice of that profession, the highest honours of which he early attained.

It is morally impossible to suppose, that any one could have presumed, unauthorized, to take such a liberty with the name of Mr. Yorke, as this advertisement would have been; and still more so, if it had not been strictly correct: more especially so, as at the time of the publication Mr. Yorke was not only living, but the king's attorney general.

Moreover it is well ascertained, that the editor, though his name be not affixed to the work, was the reverend Dr. Birch: deservedly, as advantageously, known for many valuable contributions to English history and biography. He was a director of the Society of Antiquaries: one of the secretaries of the Royal Society, and a trustee of the British Museum. To which may be added (" though last not least" of importance in this case,) that he had been patronized through life by the lord chancellor, and his son, the late lord

Hardwicke; with whom, as well as his brother, Mr. Yorke, he was then living in habits of strict intimacy.

It is now for the reader to determine how far this document may be considered as of sufficient authority. The data from which the conclusion is to be drawn, are the following, (as it is hoped,) well attested facts: 1*st*, that the original letters were in the possession of Mr. Yorke: 2*ndly*, that he would not have retained them, if he had not considered them to be genuine: 3*rdly*, that no one was more competent to judge whether they really were so, or not: 4*thly*, that he must have authorized the publication of them: 5*thly*, that from the introductory notice, suffered to be prefixed to them, (more especially, as notwithstanding the great respectability of the editor, the publication was anonymous,) he must be deemed to have taken upon himself all responsibility of their having been among the collected manuscripts, which he considered most valuable: and to have pledged himself to the world, that they were faithful transcripts of the original and genuine letters; on the authenticity of which he entertained no doubt.

"Budge quoth the fiend, budge not quoth conscience;" in a state of similar perplexity, and equal embarrassment to that of Lancelot, was the governor of the Isle of Wight, placed between mutually contradictory commands of Fairfax, instantly to repair to the head quarters; and orders of the parliament, on no account to stir from his post, when he received the following letter from Ireton.

It will be given at length uninterrupted by notes; all observations being reserved for future consideration; in order that the reader may exercise his own unbiassed judgement, as to whether it may be morally possible, that Ireton should have thought it expedient thus to lecture Hammond, if the latter had really been, as lord Clarendon affirms, "of nearest trust with Cromwell:" or if he had in truth been such, as Rapin and Hume, both on the noble Historian's authority, have designated him to have been: the one, "as the "mere creature of Cromwell;" the other as "a "man entirely dependent on Cromwell."

"Dear Robin,

"Thou wilt receive herewith a letter from the "general: by which thou wilt see what tenderness "there is here towards thee, &c. &c.—Thou "lookest on thyself as a servant under trust; "and so both in honour and conscience obliged "to discharge that faithfully. And thus far thou "art in the right. But the only measure of that "discharge, thou takest to be, the mere formal "observance of commands: and those carrying "but that name of power, from which thou appre-"hendest it was committed to thee. As to the "first part; the faithful discharge of the trust; "the Lord forbid that I should tempt thee from "it. Nay, I will charge, and challenge it at thy "hands; that, with all faithfulness and singleness "of heart, as before the Lord, thou perform thy "trust to those persons, by whom, and to those "public ends and interests, for which, it was

" committed to thee. But for these things, I shall " appeal to the witness of God in thy conscience, " as follows.

" 1. For the persons trusting; whether thou " didst receive thy present place from the affections " or trust of the *formal parliament* only; even as " then it stood; or whether of the *general or* " *army?* And whether, so far as thou seemest to " have the formality by way of *confirmation* from " the *parliament*, it were from any affection, or " trust of that sort or generation of men, which " now, through accident, bear the sway and name? " Or whether from them, whose judgement and " affections are most opposite to the present pro- " ceedings there?

" 2. For the ends; whether thou receivedst thy " trust in order to the ends now carried on by the " prevailing party there? Or whether in confidence " of thy faithfulness, to some higher and more " public ends? Whether for the *king's* and the " *present prevailing factions;* or for the *public* " *interest*, and the generality of honest men, that " have engaged for the same.

" Upon the answer of thy conscience in these, " I propound farther; in case such persons as " neither did, nor would have committed any " such trust unto thee, but only gaining since the " *name* of that power from which thou hadst the " formal compliment of the trust, (and yet but " partly that,) shall require things destructive to, " or not for the best advantage of, those public " ends, for which really thou receivedst thy trust: " and at the same time those, from whose affec-

" tion and confidence in thee thou hadst the " *matter* of thy power and trust, shall desire and " expect from thee other things necessary for the " security, but really for better advantage, of those " public ends, for which thou wert trusted, and " for the common benefit and interest of that " people, for which all pretend their employments " and interests; in this case, I say I shall appeal " farther to thy conscience, or best ingenuity, to " determine to which of these several persons, and " according to which commands and expectations, " thou art to exhibit and approve thy faithfulness " in the trust."

This very religious, moral, and edifying epistle concludes with hoping, " that God hath better " endued dear Robin with truth and judgment in " the inner parts, and more sense of his righteous " judgments appearing abroad in this age and " nation:" and that he will not give him up to " such delusion, as to follow an *air of honour* and " mere *form or shadow of faithfulness*, to the re- " jection or neglect of that, which is *the reality* " *and substance of both.*"

The same solicitude that " dear Robin" should rightly understand to whom his debt of gratitude was due; and the same apprehension, lest he should misconceive himself under obligation to " the present prevailing faction, which now through " accident bears the sway and name of the formal " parliament," instead of to " those honest men, " whose judgment and affections are most oppo- " site to the present proceedings there," are perceptible, though less fully and pointedly expressed,

in a letter from Cromwell: bearing the much earlier date of April 6th, 1648.

"Dear Robin

"Your business is done in the house: your ten "pounds by the week is made twenty pounds: "one thousand pounds given you, and an order to "Mr. Lisle to draw up an ordinance for five hun- "dred pounds per annum to be settled upon you "and your heirs. This was done with smooth- "ness: your friends were not wanting. *I know* "*thy burden:* this is an addition to it. The Lord "direct and sustain thee."

Yet honester men than Cromwell and Ireton never affirmed a more unquestionable truth, than they did, in assuming to themselves the credit of Hammond's appointment. Most inadmissible, as it ever must be contended, that the fact of Hammond's having been married to John Hampden's daughter by Cromwell's advice is, even a presumptive proof of his having become, by Cromwell's contrivance, entrusted also with the custody of the king's person, there cannot be a more satisfactory reason for his having been, through Cromwell's influential recommendation, appointed to the government of the Isle of Wight. The same tutelary solicitude, which prompted him to consult the happiness of his orphan relative by providing her with a good husband, was not likely to overlook any of those secondary considerations, which are generally thought to enhance domestic comforts. Mrs. Hammond could not be made governess of the Isle of Wight. But the next thing to it, (perhaps indeed virtually, the self

same thing,) was the making of the colonel governor.

Most fortunate it is, that the very letter of Fairfax to Hammond, announced by Ireton, as being despatched simultaneously with his own, has been entered on the Journals: having been communicated to the house, inclosed in one from Hammond. The date of these two letters will be found to agree; that of Fairfax, as having been first written, being the 21st of November, and from St. Albans: that of Ireton on the following day: the contents of both equally to tally; and the very first paragraph of the former to elucidate the exordium of the latter; shewing in what consisted the proof of that "tenderness," which there was at the head quarters for the governor of the Isle of Wight; or rather for the king's gaoler.

"Sir "St. Albans, Nov. 21st.

"I received your letter of the 19th of this "instant: whereby I apprehend your great dissa- "tisfaction, trouble, and burden, both in relation "to your present employment, and some other "things, which hath occasioned your address to "the house. Therefore I desire you, before you "resolve quitting your trust even with all possible "speed to repair to me: because I have somewhat "to communicate to you of very public concern- "ment, &c. &c. I have herewith sent colonel "Ewer: the fittest person I could think of, to "take care of the island, till you return."

On the contents of this letter it may be observed 1st. that Hammond could not fail to be gratefully sensible of the tenderness of the general; con-

trasted, as it was, with the obduracy of the parliament. The latter still unmoved by his reiterated supplications, while the former is no sooner apprized of his wishes to quit his trust, than he "therefore" desires him to repair with all possible speed to St. Albans. 2ndly. Though it would now be as fruitless, as it is needless, to enquire or conjecture what might have been that "somewhat "of very public concernment" which the commander in chief had to communicate; and which was perhaps more than his excellency himself knew: yet the motive for the dictated urgency of the requisition, that he should appear at head quarters, "before he had resolved to quit his "trust" is sufficiently manifest and obvious.

If at the "many secret consults" among the officers of the army how to be rid of the king they were aware that the otherwise easy modes of disposing of him, either by poison or assassination, were impracticable without "Hammond's "privity and connivance;" which they could not obtain: they must have been sensible also that the gaoler's thus being "too much of courtier" would be an equally insuperable obstacle to their carrying off his prisoner; when they had finally resolved on the mockery of a public trial, and the reality of a public execution; "before all Israel, "and before the sun." Nor was this obstacle to their fell purpose to be removed by Hammond's removal from his ever deplored and detested office. For if "by laboursome petition" he should "at last have wrung" from parliament "its slow "leave" to resign it, there could be no doubt,

that before he had been suffered to quit his station, his successor would not only have been appointed, but already on the spot, inducted and installed: so that there would not have been one hour of intervening vacancy. Neither could it have been less certain, that this successor would have been one, who needed not the plighted responsibility of Cromwell to vouch for his devotion to the parliament being such, as to preclude "all "jealousy, that he might be corrupted by any "body." As little too could Cromwell and Ireton and the rest flatter themselves, that Hammond would be like Francis* "so valiant as to play the "coward with his indenture; shew it a fair pair "of heels, and run from it:" that until regularly relieved, he would desert his post.

It was therefore necessary to have recourse to some expedient, or pretence to draw the actual governor from his government, for a few hours. This was found in that clause of Hammond's original appointment, in which the authority of the commander in chief had been expressly reserved and confirmed. And to the successful accomplishment of this scheme, the respective characters of each were well calculated to afford every facility. It was easy to make Fairfax believe, notwithstanding his real dutiful subjection to parliament, that the commander in chief had the right to summon colonel Hammond to appear at head quarters; and consequently of appointing ad interim a substitute. The same conscientious scrupulosity, by which we have heretofore

* Henry the Fourth, Part 1st.

seen Hammond influenced in his preference of the letter, to the spirit of a law; and of the words, to the sense, of an engagement, is perceptible in the despatch which he addressed to the speaker of the house of lords, enclosing that of Fairfax. In which he writes as follows.

"The general having the authority of parliament for the commanding of all the forces of the kingdom, and I having no positive instructions from parliament for my constant abode here, &c. I resolved it my duty to give as speedy obedience to it, as the duty I owe to your commands and services would permit. The letter being positive for my speedy repair to the general, I resolved to take my journey to the head quarters. Where I shall be ready to receive your lordship's commands, if they come before my return, which I purpose God willing, shall be the next hour after his excellency shall please to dismiss me: if I do not before that time receive your lordships' discharge of my unhappy employment; which I again most humbly and heartily beg of you."

That lord Clarendon is correct in his averment of Hammond's having been married to Hampden's daughter by Cromwell's advice, the entire conviction has recently been declared: because the fact, as a cause, so satisfactorily accounts for the subsequent one which can hardly be doubted, that in Cromwell's exertion of his influence in parliament originated Hammond's appointment to be governor of the Isle of Wight. Now those readers who may still retain most inflexibly the opinion,

that this was but the preliminary measure to Cromwell's contrivance to obtain exclusively possession of the king's person, must the more freely acquit the presbyterian majority, (the lord Holles included) of all suspicion, that when they thus appointed to the Isle of Wight the governor, they designedly " provided the king with a gaoler." Between the two offices there was no natural connection or consequent relation. The one having most fortuitously and casually led to the other.

When subsequently the two houses assigned to Hammond the sole custody of the royal captive, investing him with such extensively discretionary powers, as by necessary implication virtually absolved him from all intermediate controul, it is evident, that the clause in their former ordinance, subjecting the civil governor, as an officer of the army, to the military authority of the commander in chief (of whom, as lord Clarendon informs us, " the principal persons of the house of com- " mons had not the least jealousy" ; knowing him " to be a perfect presbyterian in his judgment,") must have escaped their recollection. Else some due precautionary enactments would have been passed in order to frustrate all attempts to separate the keeper from his charge. It is equally evident that this oversight had not eluded the vigilance of Ireton.

In an early part of this Vindication for the purpose of shewing how absolutely destitute of any military strength was the Isle of Wight, when the king first landed on it, extracts were given from two letters: the one addressed by Fairfax to the

parliament: the other by Ireton to Hammond. It was then impossible to pass unnoticed not only the similarity of sentiments, but such an identity of expressions, as might excite suspicion, that but one head, although two hands, had been employed on both. Even if the well known contrasted characters of the respective writers had not been alone sufficient to warrant the surmise. The same observation is equally applicable, or rather unavoidable, in considering the two letters, bearing the same several signatures, now before us. And if on these occasions Ireton was his father-in-law's right hand, it is very clear, that in this last instance it did not forget its cunning.

In neither letter is mention made of captive, or prisoner: nothing to recall the gaoler or the gaol. On the contrary, it is distinctly specified, that Ewer has been sent to take charge of "the *island*," during Hammond's absence, as the fittest person that Fairfax (forsooth!) could think of.* Then

* It is probable that his excellency on this, as indeed on most occasions, was saved the trouble of much thinking. Certain it is, that colonel Ewer had been thought of by others as the fittest person to present to the house of commons, only the day before Nov. 20th, what lord Clarendon calls the large remonstrance of the council of officers held at St. Albans. In which it was demanded, that "the person of the king might be pro-"ceeded against in the way of justice: and the prince of Wales "and duke of York to surrender themselves, or to be declared "traitors."

In this choice therefore of his excellency's may rather be recognised Cromwell's "wonderful understanding in the nature "and humours of men," and his "as great experience in apply-"ing them," than "the dull drowsy presbyterian humour of "Fairfax."

notwithstanding all that tenderness at head quarters for dear Robin, there is no apparent wish to see him there; no discoverable intention to summon him thither; which might have alarmed the suspicion of the parliament's confidential agent, until it was made known by his own letter how anxiously he wished to be removed from his employment; and how fruitlessly he had long supplicated the parliament to grant that boon.

Then again the mysterious "somewhat of very "public concernment to be communicated" was as a pretext for the exercise of the commander in chief's authority, and the colonel's obedience, equally well calculated for its intended purpose: whether Hammond should be aware of the subterfuge; or deceived by it. That he was sufficiently aware, and ready enough to avail himself of it, and that he took his cue from the letter written by Fairfax, but doubtless dictated by Ireton, is manifestly evident when in his own to the speaker he cites the clause in the ordinance of his *original* appointment, expressly subjecting him to the general's commands: and further when he very characteristically observes, that there is none, by which "his *constant* abode" in the Isle of Wight is enjoined:

"I cannot find it; 'tis not in the bond."

Thus was Hammond "such in those moments" (the last of his public life) "as in all the past:" without any well defined principles of his own, or decided preference for those of others, desirous to recommend himself, not by turns alone, but at

once, to all parties; king, parliament, and army: wishing to adopt discordant tenets, and endeavouring to reconcile duties absolutely incompatible with each other. Scarcely seated in his government; (even while as Berkeley relates making his bargain with Ashburnham in anticipation of the king's being restored,) as he wrote to the parliament, that he was holding at his sole disposal the captured sovereign,—and in other letters of nearly the same date, conjured Cromwell and Ireton by their engagement, by their interest, by their honour and by their conscience, to come to a speedy close with the king,—so now, with like consistency, he obeys the general's commands in hastening to the head-quarters; and at the same time strives to frustrate the object of these commands, by refusing to surrender his charge to Ewer, and on the other hand, while actually betraying the trust reposed in him by the parliament in quitting his post, he ostentatiously evinces his devotion, by appointing before his departure three commissioners of his own choice, " for the safety " of the island and care of the king's person." The second article of whose instructions being, that— " If any person whatever, under what pretence " soever, shall endeavour the removing the person " of the king out of this island, unless by direct " orders of parliament, that you resist, and to " your utmost oppose any such p[illegible]sons."

Our first personal, as it may be considered, acquaintance with Hammond (subsequently to a few introductory notices derived from lord Clarendon) was the accidental " meeting on the high road

" near Kingston:" when he told Ashburnham that " he was going down *to* his government, be-" cause he found, that the army was resolved to " break all promises with the king; and that he " would have *nothing* to do with such perfidious " actions." And we next find him shortly after not less anxious to go *from* his government, because of the " burden insupportable,"—by which he was subjected to have much to do with similar perfidious actions.

The same conscience too, which before shrinking from the required " engagement to leave the " king in as good a condition as when he found " him; that is suffer him to make his escape, if it " should so happen that he might not be able to " protect his majesty;" could volunteer the pledge " of honour" to perform whatever could be expected from a person of " honour and honesty" is here recognizable in the solemn promise to the king* (justly alarmed at Hammond's intended absence) " to return the very next day." When he must have known that to return at all (which in fact he never did) depended not on his will or power: nay when he must have known moreover

* Sir John Bowring whose facts notwithstanding the gossiping anility of his " says I" and " says he" may be more safely relied on than certain others more magisterially and scholastically propounded, says—" the king advised Hammond not to " go with this gentleman (colonel Ewer) for he might justly " excuse himself having the guard of his majesty in the island. " Says his majesty, if you are taken away from the command in " the island but for an hour, I am absolved of my word to stay " here an hour. Says his majesty I desire you not to go out of " the island to the head quarters with this man."

this period, short as it was, to be no "tempus "inane;" but pregnant with the fatality of ages, else why those particular and positive injunctions to his commissioners not to suffer the king's removal?

But then

"Thou canst not say, I did it."

The conscientious abhorrer of "perfidious "actions" could "lay that flattering unction to "his soul."*

"'Tis strange, 'tis passing strange,"

that the man whom it was necessary for Ireton thus to reason with, and exhort: for the arch-hypocrite himself thus to humour, and cajole: and for both thus to trick and bamboozle, should ever have been so authoritatively pronounced, and so obsequiously believed, to have been "of "nearest trust with Cromwell:"—to have been "entirely dependant on Cromwell:"—to have been "the mere creature of Cromwell."

It appears on the Journals, that on the receipt of Hammond's letter enclosing the one from Fairfax, the houses resolved—"That a letter be "sent to colonel Hammond requiring him to stay "in the Isle of Wight and attend to his charge

* Such was sir Phil. Warwick's opinion. Who says:—"Fairfax had *been wrought upon* to give a warrant, whereby "colonel Hammond was commanded to give up the king's "person to col. Ewer; and Hammond *pretended* to go up to the "two houses about this command, *that he might be absent, "when the king was seized on.*"

"there, till the house take further order." And another letter to the general, acquainting him with the aforesaid order.

But when parliament had been informed of Hammond's having set out for the head-quarters, after having delegated to others his charge of the king's person, it was "ordered"—"That a letter "be written to the general to acquaint him, that "his orders given to colonel Ewer are contrary to "the resolutions of the house; and the instruc- "tions to colonel Hammond; and to desire him "to recall the said order, and to command "colonel Hammond presently to return back to "his charge."

It appears, that Hammond had already left the Isle of Wight, before his receipt of the parliament's commands; which he acknowledges in a letter dated from Farnham: wherein he declares his immediate obedience to them; regretting, as usual, the failure of his "earnest entreaties to be "discharged from his unhappy employment." Afterwards in a postscript to the same, dated from Bagshot he notifies that he is "put under "restraint."*

* In this postscript there is somewhat to excite suspicion. Sir John Bowring relates, that "no sooner had Ewer got Ham- "mond *across the water to Titchfield*, than he dismounts him, "and sends his horse back into the island: puts him into a "hackney-coach brought for that purpose; and sends this great "governor with a small guard, a prisoner, to Windsor." Now it must be admitted that, as it was not incumbent on the great governor particularly to notice in his despatch this little indignity of the hackney coach, so it was natural that he should wish to suppress it altogether. But that, after having been "put

It is one more extract from the same invaluable document, which has been selected and reserved for the key-stone, to close and consolidate that arch, on the construction of which so much time and labour have been bestowed.

The following passage is transcribed from a letter addressed by Cromwell to Hammond, bearing the date of November 25th, 1648. Consequently three days before the commencement of "dear Robin's" transmigration from the state of gaoler at Carisbrook Castle to that of prisoner in Windsor Castle.

"Because I find some trouble in your spirit "occasioned first not only by the continuance of

"into it" at Titchfield, he should have travelled in it all the way to Bagshot, before he discovered, that he also had been "put "under restraint," is neither natural or credible.

On the occasion of Hammond's former trip to Titchfield, lord Clarendon says that "he having the command of the country, "could call in what help he would:" which was in Hammond's own opinion even as Glendower could "*call*" in what "*spirits*" he would "*from the vasty deep,*" and with like effect. For in his letter addressed to the speaker (and not to Cromwell) he declares himself to be so destitute of power, and of help too, that, on the king's desiring to be conducted to the Isle of Wight, nothing remained for him but submission to his majesty's commands. So in the present emergency the colonel still continued to be obstinately diffident and despairing as before of his powers, though now infinitely extended: unless indeed "planet-struck "and fascinated by Jupiter" like captain Bobadil, he had forgotten that at his call the whole posse-comitatus might have been instantly raised. Thus far certain, at least it seems to be, that no hackney coach ever started from Bow-street with a less clamorous fare for Newgate than the one, into which this great governor was put at Titchfield, and with a small guard packed off to Windsor.

"your sad and heavy burden, as you call it, upon "you; but by the dissatisfaction you take at the "ways of some good men; whom you love with "your heart, &c. &c. To the first, call not your "burden sad, nor heavy. If your father laid it "upon you he intended neither. He is the father "of lights: from whom comes every good and "perfect gift, who of his own will begot us and "bade us count it all joy when such things befall "us. They being for the exercise of faith and "patience; whereby in the end (James I.) we shall "be made perfect."

"Dear Robin, our fleshly reasonings ensnare "us. These make us say heavy, sad, pleasant, "easy. *Was there not a little of this when Robert "Hammond, through dissatisfaction too, desired "retirement from the army; and thought of quiet "in the Isle of Wight?* Did not God find him "out there? I believe he will never forget "this."*

Thus are two great and important truths securely established beyond the reach of contradiction, cavil, or doubt. The first is the clear convincing proof of Hammond's sincerity in the reason assigned to Ashburnham for quitting the army and going to his government. This is most satisfactory indeed. For those readers, who may have been so liberally candid as to give Ashburnham credit for veracity in his statement of their meeting on the high road near Kingston, may with good reason have suspected, that what ap-

* The entire letter, as being curious in itself and the volume containing it scarce, is given in the Appendix.

peared to him a casual and fortuitous accident, was really one of many preconcerted artifices. And surely, if the well known irony of

" Egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis,
" Tuque puerque tuus, magnum et memorabile nomen,
" Una dolo Divum si Fœmina victa duorum est"—

be not less just, than sarcastic; no great disgrace would attach on Ashburnham for having singly been outwitted by the combined deceptive talents of Cromwell and Ireton.

But the second is even of still greater moment. Inasmuch as it proves to a certainty, that Cromwell knew at the time of Hammond's leaving the army and going to the Isle of Wight, " when there " was no visible occasion to draw him thither," that it was the result of his disgust on finding, that it " was resolved to break all promises with " the king," and his determination " to have no- " thing to do with such perfidious actions."

Admitting then, more than can in fairness be required, even to the supposition, that Cromwell's " wonderful understanding in the natures and " humours of men" had been stultified in his estimate of an individual's, most intimately and familiarly known to him; that his " as great experi- " ence in applying them" had in this instance been worse than of no avail; that " his admirable " circumspection" had for once nodded; and that his " sagacity" had been at fault; the timely discovery of such error or inadvertency had here been made. After which, is it possible to believe, if his purpose had really been to insure to himself exclusively still more entire and absolute power

over the king's person than he possessed at Hampton Court, that he would not either have recommended to his royal victim some other asylum than the Isle of Wight: or else have provided him there with some other gaoler than colonel Hammond?

Hobbes's view therefore of Cromwell's policy is like the fundamental note, on which the whole chord is harmonized;

"untune that string;
"And hark! what discord follows; each thing meets
"In mere oppugnancy."

Here all facts, in word or deed, of long established notoriety, or of recently acquired anecdote, unite in reciprocal confirmation. While there—in the hypothesis of Clarendon and Holles,—every part is separately improbable, and the whole collectively impossible.

Well then has the truly respectable and reverend editor of these letters said, that "they relate "to an interesting event in English history not "hitherto fully understood." Well too may be applied to it the observation of Fontenelle, on a very different subject:—"Non seulement nous "n'avons pas de principes, qui menent au vrai; "mais nous en avons d'autres, qui s'accommodent "très bien avec le faux." For here the certain knowledge of well authenticated facts has not led to a right understanding of the mysterious transaction.

Sur les Oracles.

On the contrary these, with most accommodating pliancy and yielding ductility, have received their "form and pressure" from the inventive

fancy and plastic skill of envy, hatred, and malice; and all uncharitableness.

Ashburnham in truth did that, which a traitor might have done. Is Ashburnham therefore a traitor? The having advised the king to seek his safety in the Isle of Wight, and the having brought Hammond to Titchfield, might as links in a well riveted concatenation of circumstantial evidence, powerfully contribute towards fixing a charge of grossest folly, or of vilest treachery. But, as mere abstract and insulated facts, they cannot in justice, or in reason, be suffered to debase the intellectual, or to blast the moral character, of any man. Much less that of one, acknowledged by his enemy to have been, antecedently, and subsequently, without reproach or suspicion.

"Custodienda sit brevitas, si causa permittat: "alioquin prævaricatio est transire dicenda; "prævaricatio etiam cursim et breviter attingere, "quæ sint *inculcanda, infigenda, repetenda.* Nam "plerisque longiore tractu vis quædam et pondus "accedit."—*Plin. Epist.* 20, *lib.* 1.

The belief, that in the above cited passage the duty of an advocate has been correctly defined and prescribed, is the plea, which the writer of this Vindication submits in excuse for repetitions, which have necessarily been introduced in the several portions of this work; and by which he hopes to be pardoned, if he further trespasses on

his reader's patience, not by a recapitulation of arguments, on which he has already too much dilated, but by a summary recall of those facts, on which the verdict of guilty, or not guilty, must be determined.

If then it be true, as lord Clarendon avers, that 1. "The king having pretended some indisposi-"tion" escaped from Hampton Court on the evening of the 10th of Novr.—2. That "Berkeley "and Legge had only received orders to attend "with their horses, and had not the least intima-"tion of his majesty's purpose what he intended "to do."—3. That "the king had not resolved "whither to go."—4. That "he never thought of "going to the Isle of Wight."—5. That "Ash-"burnham alone knew what they were to do."—6. That "the king asked Ashburnham where the "ship lay."—7. That "Ashburnham after being "absent some time on the coast returned without "any news of the ship," and that "on this the "king seemed troubled."—8. That in consequence of the disappointment "the king resolved to go "to Titchfield house."—9. That "he there con-"sulted with his three servants what he should "next do, since there was no ship ready."—10. That "on this debate the Isle of Wight" (being then in sight) "was for the first time recommended "by Ashburnham."—If one half of these particulars be true, there is here more than abundant proof, that Ashburnham "carried his royal master "to the Isle of Wight without his privity, upon "his own presumption:" which, "however well "intended, must be looked upon by all men, as

" such a transcendant crime, as must deprive him " of all compassion for the worst, that could have " befallen him."

But if, in addition to all these decisively criminating details, it be true that—11. Ashburnham's Narrative assigns " no probable inducement, that " prevailed with the king to undertake that " journey."—12. That it offers no admissible excuse for the motive of his bringing Hammond to Titchfield house.—13. That " Hammond left the " army but two or three days before the king's " remove, and went to the Isle of Wight, when " there was no visible occasion to draw him thi- " ther."—14. That " Ashburnham was not after- " wards called in question for being instrumental " in the king's going away."—15. That " he lived " unquestioned long after in the sight of the par- " liament, and in conversation with the officers of " the army, who had most deceived him."—16. That " after the murder of the king, he com- " pounded at an easy rate."—17. That " he lived " at ease, and grew rich, for many years together, " without interruption."—18. That " his remain- " ing in England was upon his marriage."—If further it be true, that—19. On account of " his " great detestation of the Scots, he very earnestly " dissuaded the king" from the thought of entering into any treaty with them.—And that, 20. " he " did constantly deny, that he ever had any thought " of the Isle of Wight, when the king left Hamp- " ton Court"—Then indeed stands confessed, and conspicuous, an enormity as complicated as any in the foul pages of our English annals, or loath-

some registrie of human depravity:—an ingratitude, peculiarly such as Cicero has defined; since treachery, murder, treason itself are but ingredients in the monstrous compound.

On the contrary, if the whole of this statement has been refuted; if each particular fact, assumed, has been disproved, and in some instances their very reverse incontestibly established; then of him, who has promulgated a calumny of so exceeding deep a dye, may be said, as by Vasari, in describing the practice of the too fastidious, and insatiate Leonardo da Vinci, "Che cercava neri, "che ombrassero, e fossero piu scuri degli altri "neri."

"NEQUID FALSI DICERE AUDEAT, NEQUID VERI NON AUDEAT."

It was necessary to the vindication of John Ashburnham to shew that lord Clarendon in his History has sometimes "*dared to say that, which* "*is not true.*" For the same purpose it is not necessary to point out other passages in his History, where it is equally evident that he has "*not* "*dared to say that, which is true.*" Yet surely there can be no very unwarrantable liberty in animadverting on total suppressions, or partial concealments of more or less important facts by an historian, who strongly professes to communicate without reserve that information, of which he is known to have been amply possessed.

It is in the seventh volume of the History of the Rebellion and at page 357, where lord Clarendon speaking of the treaty of the Pyrenees, and immediately after having represented cardinal Mazarin as earnestly endeavouring to convince don Lewis de Haro, prime minister of Spain, that "it was rather time for all catholics to unite to the "breaking the power and interest of the heretical "party, wherever it was, than to strengthen it "by restoring the king (of England) *except he* "*would become catholic,*" that he proceeds to say—

" and it is *believed by wise men*, that, in that treaty, " somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the " protestant interest; and that, in a short time, " there would have been much done against it " both in France and Germany, if the measures " they had there taken had not been shortly " broken; chiefly by the surprising revolution in " England."

On the above passage bishop Kennet has made the following comment under the title of " Secret " Intrigue in the Pyrenean treaty."—" The king's " negotiation in this treaty was kept a secret, but " there is too much suspicion of the intrigues of " it. My lord Clarendon would let fall no other " intimation of it, than what he gave in these " words: ' It is believed by wise men, that in that " ' treaty somewhat was agreed to the prejudice " ' of the protestant interest.' Which could hardly " be less than a promise of the king to establish, " or at least to tolerate popery in England; and " to set the example of it in his own person; upon " condition he should be restored to his crowns " by the united powers of France and Spain. The " way of my lord Clarendon's introducing and " supporting this foresaid ' belief of wise men' is " some key to understand the meaning of what he " intended to conceal . . . . . .

" It is matter of fact that upon this peace be- " tween France and Spain both those crowns did " immediately begin to encourage and assist the " king with money and men, and advanced great " promises to him, which seems to have been " done upon the foot of secret articles. It is

" further certain that the earl of Bristol, who was " the king's companion and guide to the place of " this treaty, and sir Harry Bennet, who was the " prime agent for the king, did both of them turn " papists about this time, as if they did it upon a " compact then made. And there is a story to " confirm all, which I have reason to think true. " Sir Harry Bennet was soon after seen to wait " upon the king from mass; at which sight the " lord Culpeper had so much indignation, that he " went up to Bennet and spoke to this effect, ' I " ' see what you are at. Is this the way to bring " ' our master home to his three kingdoms? Well " ' sir, if ever you and I live to see England toge- " ' ther, I will have your head, or you shall have " ' mine.' Which words struck such a terror upon " sir Harry Bennet that he never dared to set " foot in England till after the death of the lord " Culpeper; who met with a very abrupt death " within a few months of the king's return. When " he was taken out of the way, sir Harry Bennet " came to court, and soon arose into honours " and preferments, and was in disguise a meer " creature of the papists, and had the dying cou- " rage to take off that disguise."

It is added in a note that " sir Allan Brodrick, " who was with king Charles beyond sea at the " time of his first professing the popish religion, " has been often heard to lament the burning of " his journals; where the very day and circum- " stances of it were entered. And I am assured " that one of his present majesty's chaplains, " minister of the place where sir Allan died (Dr.

" Resborough can give an account of his death-
" bed declaration of what he had known in it.
" That it was done in the absence of the old lord
" Culpeper, who knowing of it at his return, fell
" into a great passion, and told the king he must
" never expect to see England again, if it should
" be known there."*

Hist. Vol. vii. p. 362.

Lord Clarendon says that his majesty on quitting Fuentarabia was presented by don Lewis " with *seven thousand* gold pistoles, to defray the " expences of his journey," besides a " *million* of " excuses" for not presenting him with more pistoles: and assurances also, that " he should find in " Flanders all necessary orders for his *better ac-* " *comodation* and *carrying on his business.*"

" So his majesty began his journey, and took " Paris in his way to visit the queen his mother, " *with whom a good understanding was made upon* " *removing all former mistakes.*"

" The very civil treatment he had received from " don Lewis, with the good disposition he had left " the queen his mother in, very much revived and " refreshed the king's spirits."

Why the king was on his return to Flanders to be *better* accommodated by the Spaniard than he had been before he set out from thence, to be present, when this treaty was concluded; and why there was subsequently a *good understanding* and

* If this be true, and there are no very obvious reasons to doubt it, John Ashburnham's old friend must have been less indifferent to religion (at least as a politician) than king Charles the first, according to his noble Historian, conceived him to be.

a *good disposition* established, which certainly had not antecedently subsisted between his majesty and his royal mother, lord Clarendon has not explained; vouching only for the facts. It is not unlikely that a satisfactory, or at least a plausible, solution might have been found in sir Allan Brodrick's journals, if he had not burnt them: still however, notwithstanding this loss, the mysteries seem happily to be not quite impenetrable.

It is worthy of remark that among all the *wise men*, who to a certainty entertained this *belief*, the very one, whom the right reverend Historian suspects of wishing to *conceal* the fact, should by others have been accused of revealing it. When the earl of Clarendon was impeached at the bar of the house of lords by the commons of England, the second article of the charge was: "that he "had, in the hearing of many of his majesty's sub- "jects, falsely and maliciously said, that the king "was in his heart a papist, popishly affected, or "words to that effect." Life, Vol. iii. p. 387. 90.

In his answer to it having first "acknowledged "and magnified the great goodness of God Al- "mighty" in having "infused into the hearts of his "enemies to lay such crimes to his charge as his "nature is most known to abhor, and which cannot "only not be believed, but must be contradicted "by all men, who have been much in his company," he contends, that as "he might without vanity say, "that he had more than an ordinary part in the "framing and promoting that act of parliament, "that hath made those seditious discourses, of "the king's being a papist in his heart, or popishly

" affected, so very penal as they are: and therefore " there would be need of an undoubted and un- " controulable evidence, that he had so soon run " into that crime himself."

Surely if such a plea as this may be admitted as satisfactory and conclusive it can only be, when advanced by one, not known to be in the habit of liberally conceding to himself those privileges, which he rigidly denies to others.*

The extreme improbability, or rather the utter impossibility that he would ever have uttered such words as those ascribed to him, is further argued on the grounds that " there was no man " then alive, who had had the honour to be so

* The recent mention of Culpeper may perhaps have recalled the censure passed upon him for *intending* to keep the place of chancellor of the exchequer, *until he should get into quiet possession of the rolls;* although sir Edward Hyde retained it during the two years passed in Jersey as being of the prince's council; the other two years of his extraordinary embassy to the court of Spain, and further for three years more subsequent to his having been appointed lord high chancellor. But it may be necessary to remind the reader that aware of the king's reso-

Life, vol. ii. p. 85-7. lution " to retain all the monies, which by forfeiture of lands in " *Ireland,* or otherwise, might come into his majesty's power; " *to the end that he might be able to gratify those of the Irish* " *nation,* who had any thing of merit towards him, whenever " any of those grants" (*at the recommendation of the earl of Orrery*) " had been brought to the great seal of England, *the* " *chancellor always stopped them.*" But that when he received notice of £25,000. payable to himself out of the *same fund* and

p. 94. by *the same treasurer,* he thought, that " there was nothing left " for him to do, but to make his humble acknowledgement to " his majesty for his royal bounty, and to take care for the re- " ceiving and transmitting the money, and not to doubt *that he* " *might receive it very honestly.*"

"many years about or near the person of the "king;.... or who had held so many discourses "with *his majesty concerning religion:* no man, "who knew so well, that when an almost total des- "pair possessed the spirits of most men of his own "religion, that he would recover his regality; and "when the hopes, promises and assurances were "so pregnant, that he would suddenly recover it, "if he would change it,* with what *christian cou-* "*rage his majesty repelled those assaults, and with* "*what pious contempt and indignation* he resisted "and rejected these temptations."!!!

But if it be difficult to agree with Kennet in his notion of Clarendon's intended concealment, it is not easy to contend for his design to be intelligibly communicative on this subject. The fact is that whether or not the most authentic, he is beyond all question the most enigmatical, of all historians. The occult designations, remote allusions, and mysterious hints, in which the hierographic pages of Clarendonian history abound, must be of very limited avail to uninitiated readers not previously familiarized with the more important events, and more eminent characters of the period, in which its illustrious author flourished. The foregoing passage is one, and the following is another, of many instances which might here be adduced.

Speaking of the time of the king's imprisonment in Carisbrook Castle lord Clarendon says—"It "was believed that his majesty might have made Hist. Vol. vi. p. 191.

* N. B. *It* the first—"his regality:" *it* the second—"his "religion."

" his escape; which most men who wished him
" well thought in all respects ought to have been
" attempted; and before the treaty, he himself
" was inclined to it, thinking any liberty prefer-
" able to the restraint he had endured. But he
" did receive *some discouragement* from pursuing
" that purpose, which both diverted him from it,
" and *gave him great trouble of mind.* It cannot
" be imagined how wonderfully *fearful some per-*
" *sons in France were that he should have made*
" *his escape,* and *the dread they had of his coming*
" *thither;* which, without doubt, was not from
" want of *tenderness* of his safety, but from the
" apprehension *they* had, that the little respect
" they would have shewn him there, would have
" been a greater mortification to him than all he
" could suffer from the closest imprisonment."

Of the many, whose curiosity has been satiated by the reading of lord Clarendon's History alone, it is probable that few have surmised, that by *some persons,* who were wonderfully fearful that the king should make his escape, and dreaded his coming to France, is meant *the queen.*

In this last extract from the History of the Rebellion may be seen that its noble author's respectful good breeding was greatly undervalued in her majesty's estimate, thus recorded in his Life.

Life, vol. i. p. 262. " There was a passage at that time, of which
" he (the chancellor) used to speak often, and
" looked upon as a great honour to him. The
" queen one day, amongst some of her ladies in
" whom she had most confidence, expressed some

" sharpness towards a lord of the king's council,
" whom she named not; who, she said, always
" gave her the fairest words, and promised her
" every thing she desired, and had persuaded her
" to affect somewhat that she had before no mind
" to; and yet she was well assured, that when the
" same was proposed to the king on her behalf,
" he was the only man who dissuaded the king
" from granting it. Some of the ladies seemed
" to have the curiosity to know who it was;
" which the queen would not tell: one of them,
" who was known to have a friendship for him,
" said, she hoped it was not the chancellor; to
" which her majesty replied with some quickness,
" that she might be sure it was not he, who was
" so far from making promises, or giving fair
" words, and flattering her, that she did verily
" believe, that if he thought her to be a whore, he
" would tell her of it; which when that lady
" told him, he was not displeased with the tes-
" timony."

If he had, it would have been a solitary exception to a general rule. In four several instances at least, it has been already evident that the chancellor was never less displeased than when he was thought to be very different from that, which he really was.

II.

All, who have read the Life of the earl of Clarendon written by himself, must remember how he was " tortured e'en to madness" (for so he was

in the opinion of the king, and of his friends, Ormond and Southampton) on being told of his daughter's clandestine marriage with the duke of York. He declared that "he had much rather "his daughter should be the duke's whore than "his wife:* in the former case nobody could "blame him for the resolution he had taken, to "turn her out of his house, as a strumpet, to shift "for herself; for he was not obliged to keep a "whore for the greatest prince alive; and that "the indignity to himself he would submit to the "good pleasure of God. But if there were any "reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give "a positive judgement, in which he hoped their "lordships would concur with him; that the king "should immediately cause *the woman* to be sent "to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, "under so strict a guard, that no person living "should be admitted to come to her; and then "that an act of parliament should be immediately "passed for the cutting off her head, to which he

Life, vol. i. p. 378.

* Precisely the same mistake as poor Nan Hyde's was afterwards made by poor Polly Peachem; who, "alack and a well a day" being in a similar awkward predicament, tells her papa,

When he kiss'd me so sweetly he press'd,
'Twas so sweet that I must have complied,
So I thought it both safest and best
To marry for fear you should chide.

When to her great surprize she finds that the very step, which she had taken for fear of being chided, is the only one absolutely unpardonable; while on the contrary that, which she erroneously conceived to be the great offence of all, she further finds Mr. Peachem prepared to treat with stoic apathy, and to endure with christian resignation.

"would not only give his consent, but would "very willingly be the first man that should "propose it."*

This was in truth out-bruting Brutus himself; for when the Roman patriot passed sentence of death on his sons, they had been the first to violate that oath, which he, as consul, had induced the people to swear, never to restore the Tarquins. Now poor mistress Anne Hyde had broken no law;—certainly none of nature; nor, as it should seem, of the land; because an "ex post facto" act of parliament was to be passed expressly for the cutting off of her head. This the chancellor himself could not do; "sed quod potuit tamen," "he, as soon as he came to his house, sent his "wife to command his daughter to keep her "chamber, whereas before she had always been "at dinner and supper. Which was all, that he "thought fit to do upon this first assault; until "he had slept upon it, which he did" (but, as he adds), "very unquietly." Yet, "though he had "positively further commanded his daughter not "to admit any visits, he discovered after, that "even in that time the duke found ways to come "to her, and stay whole nights with her, *by the "administration of those, who were not suspected "by him*, and who had the excuse that '*they knew "'that they were married.*'"

It is difficult to imagine what can have been lord Clarendon's inducement to publish this little

* The comment annexed by the noble auto-biographer to this declaration is—"And whoever knew the man, will believe that "he said all this very heartily."

family secret, unless it was by way of what the French call a *coup de patte*, or, as we more coarsely term it, a fling at his venerable countess. Where inuendo invites conjectures, civility forbids that they should be withheld. The surmise here hazarded may, at least as a rational possibility, obtain some countenance from an antecedent fact related by the noble auto-biographer with more than usual openness and candour.

The question having been put on the motion of the princess of Orange that Mrs. Anne Hyde should be her royal highness's maid of honour, it appears that lady Hyde, who was of that opinion, said—content: the chancellor, who was of the contrary opinion, said—not content: when, without dividing the house, it was decided that the contents had it.

The whole transaction, given much at length, may be found at page 302 of the first volume of lord Clarendon's Life. But the conclusion, as being particularly curious, is here transcribed.

" The chancellor, not in any degree converted, " but confounded with the gracious and frank " discourse of the princess royal, knew not what " more to say; replied only, that he hoped her " highness would think better of what she seemed " to undervalue, and that he left his daughter to " be disposed of by her mother, who he knew " would be very unwilling to part with her; upon " which her highness answered, ' I'll warrant you, " ' my lady and I will agree upon the matter.' To " conclude this discourse, which, considering what " fell out afterwards, is not impertinent to be re-

" membered; he knew his wife had no inclination
" to have her daughter out of her own company:
" and when he had by letter informed her of all
" that had passed, he endeavoured to confirm her
" in that resolution: but when the princess, after
" her return into Holland, sent to her, and re-
" newed her gracious offer, she, upon consultation
" with Dr. Morley, (who upon the old friendship
" between the chancellor and him, chose in his
" banishment, from the murder of the king, to
" make his residence for the most part in his
" family, and was always perfectly kind to all his
" interests,) believed it might prove for her daugh-
" ter's benefit, and writ to her husband her opinion,
" and that the doctor concurred in the same."

" The chancellor looked upon the matter itself,
" and all the circumstances thereof, as having
" *some marks of divine Providence, which he*
" *would not resist, and so referred it wholly to his*
" *wife*; who when she had presented her daughter
" to the princess, came herself to reside with her
" husband, to his great comfort; and which he
" could not have enjoyed if the other separation
" had not been made; and possibly that consi-
" deration had the more easily disposed her to
" consent to the other. We have now set down
" all the passages and circumstances which accom-
" panied or attended that lady's first promotion to
" the service of the princess royal; which the ex-
" treme averseness in her father and *mother** from

* And Mother! The princess royal little thought how rash and hazardous was her warranty that my lady and she would agree upon the matter.

" embracing that opportunity, and the unusual " grace and importunity from them who conferred " the honour being considered, there may appear " to many *an extraordinary operation of Provi-* " *dence* in giving the first rise to what afterwards " succeeded; though of a nature so transcendent, " as cannot be thought to have any relation " to it."

Thus according to lord Clarendon his daughter Mrs. Anne Hyde became a maid of honour as much *by divine permission*, as his friend Dr. Morley was afterwards made a bishop.

Nothing surely can be more satisfactory, as well as edifying, than the whole of this clear and unreserved exposition, save only in so far as the result may leave readers in doubt whether most to admire the chancellor's piety, or his politeness. Since, no sooner had he recognised the tutelary interposition of that divine providence, which, as we are elsewhere told, never lost sight of him " even from his cradle," than he abstained from all further resistance to it,—" *and so* referred it " wholly to his wife." When she, on being so appealed to, umpired the point, contested between the chancellor and providence, in favor of the latter: whose share in this *operation* tripartite, as thus described, is indeed the only one, which *to many may appear extraordinary*. Some indeed may possibly think that the more influential providence here was rather human, than divine. To those there will appear in the case itself nothing extraordinary: but much, which is so, in the relation of it, and which is more so in the inferences

and reflections, to which that relation is made to lead.

Next to the chancellor, but with a long interval, the person the most violently incensed on the occasion of the Duke of York's marriage was the queen mother. "She had written a very sharp "letter to the duke full of indignation, that he "should have so low thoughts as to marry such a "woman: and she now sent the king word that she "was on her way to England to prevent with her "authority so great a stain and dishonour to the "crown; and used many threats and passionate "expressions upon the subject. The chancellor "sat unconcerned in all the rumours, which were "spread, that the queen was coming with a pur- "pose to complain to the parliament against the "chancellor, and to apply the highest remedies to "prevent so great a mischief. Her majesty ex- "pressed her indignation to the king and duke "with her natural passion from the time of their "meeting; and came to London with a full hope "to prevail to the utter overthrow of the chancel- "lor; the king having without reply or debate "heard all they said of the other affair, and his "mother's bitterness against him. Afterwards "having come to know that the duke had made "a visit at the place she most abhorred, she brake "into great passion, and publicly declared, that "whenever that woman should be brought into "Whitehall by one door, her majesty would go out "of it by another, and never come into it again. "And the day being appointed for beginning her "journey, every body thought, that the duke's Life, vol. i. p. 384, et seq.

" affair was to be left in the state it was under the " renunciation and interdiction of a mother."

" When on a sudden, of which nobody then " knew the reason, her majesty's countenance and " discourse was changed. She treated the duke " with her usual kindness; spake graciously of " the chancellor; and said, she would be good " friends with him. The chancellor, very well " acquainted with the arts of that court, whereof " dissimulation was the soul, *did not believe that* " *those changes were real; for which he saw no* " *reasonable motive;* until abbot Mountague " (who had so far complied with the fashion of " that court as not to converse with an enemy) " visited him with all openness; and told him, " that this change in the queen had proceeded " from a letter, she had newly received from the " cardinal; in which he had plainly told her, " that she would not receive a good welcome in " France, if she left her sons in her displeasure, " and professed an animosity against those minis- " ters, who were most trusted by the king. And " this, he said, was the reason of the sudden " change, that every body had observed; and " therefore that he (the chancellor) ought to be- " lieve the sincerity of it, and to perform that " part which might be expected from him, in " compliance with the queen's inclinations to have " a good intelligence with him."

" The chancellor had never looked upon the " abbot as his enemy, and *gave credit to all he* " *said, though he did little understand from what* " *fountain that good-will of the cardinal had pro-*

"*ceeded,* who had never been propitious to him. "He made all those professions of duty to the "queen that became him, *and how happy he* "*should think himself in her protection, which he* "*had need of, and did with all humility implore;* "and that he would gladly cast himself at her "majesty's feet, when she would vouchsafe to "admit it."

Surely there were other circumstances as *little to be understood* by the chancellor as the fact of Mazarin's so suddenly and strangely becoming propitious to him. The object of the queen mother's journey, previously to her undertaking it, was no secret at Paris, any more than in London; her majesty having "*expressed her indignation* "with her *natural passion.*" Is it then credible, that Mazarin should have suffered her majesty to depart, ignorant of that, which only two months afterwards (for such was the duration of her visit to the English court) he "plainly told her," would on her return infallibly deprive her of a good welcome in France? Evelyn has attributed to another cause this sudden change in her majesty's countenance and discourse. In his diary the following entry occurs:—"*7th October,* 1660. There dined "with me a French count, with sir George Tuke, "who came to take leave of me, being sent over* "to the queen mother to break the marriage of "the duke with the daughter of chancellor Hyde. "The queen mother would fain have undone it,

* It appears on the same satisfactory authority, that the queen arrived in England on the *3d of November,* and set out on her return on the *2d of January* following.

" but it seems, *matters were reconciled on great* " *offers of the chancellor to befriend the queen,* who " was much in debt, and was now to have the " settlement of *her* affairs go through *his* hands."

Of these two different solutions of one and the same mystery, the Abbot Mountague's may have been the true one; but in point of consistency it is not so readily admissible. That of Evelyn on the contrary may have been untrue; but it cannot be rejected as in any wise inconsistent; and more especially with the lord Chancellor's own account of what passed at the audience, which he had of the queen on the eve of her departure. When her majesty was graciously pleased to assure him that

Life, vol. i. p. 403.

" she had resolved to make a friendship with him, " and hereafter *to expect all the offices from him,* " *which her kindness should deserve.* And he made " those professions of duty, which were due to " her; and declared that *he should always depend* " *upon her protection, as his most gracious mistress,* " *and pay all obedience to her commands.* The " queen appeared well pleased, and said, she " should remain very confident of his affection; " and then *opening a paper, that she had in her* " *hand, she recommended the despatch of some* " *things to him, which immediately related to her* " *own service and interest.*"

III.

So solemn an asseveration of veracity has seldom been prefixed to so fallacious an abuse of authority, as by lord Clarendon in the following passage extracted from his History, containing the rela-

tion of an event, which he has more fully stated in his Life with a similar grave and impressive introduction. Vol. ii. p. 15.

"I have been the longer and the more particular in this relation (of the interment of king Charles I.) that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humours and fancies of men, they who were in nearest credit and trust about the king underwent many very severe censures and reproaches, not without reflection upon the king himself. Hist. Vol. vi. p. 243.

"Upon the return of king Charles the second with so much congratulation, and universal joy of the people, above ten years after the murder of his father, it was generally expected that the body should be removed from that obscure burial, and, with such ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his royal ancestors in king Harry the seventh's chapel in the collegiate church of Westminster. And the king himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, *as if it were only deferred till some circumstances and ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted.* But by degrees the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of state, the ground whereof several men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those reproaches upon the statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons, which were suggested by their own imaginations did

" not satisfy their understanding. *For the satis-*
" *faction and information of all men I choose in*
" *this place to explain that matter; which, it may*
" *be, is not known to many; and at that time was*
" *not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published.*
" The duke of Richmond was dead before the
" king returned; the marquis of Hertford died
" in a short time after, and was seldom out of his
" lodging, after his majesty came to Whitehall:
" the earl of Southampton and the earl of Lindsey
" went to Windsor, and took with them such of
" their own servants as had attended them in that
" service, and as many others, as they remembered
" had been then present, and were still alive; who
" all amounted to a small number; there being,
" at the time of the interment, great strictness
" used in admitting any to be present, whose
" names were not included in the order, which
" the lords had brought. In a word the confu-
" sion they at that time observed to be in that
" church, and the small alterations which were
" begun to be made towards decency, so totally
" perplexed their memories, that they could not
" satisfy themselves in what place or part of the
" church the royal body was interred: yet where
" any concurred upon this or that place, *they*
" *caused the ground to be opened at a good dis-*
" *tance, and, upon such inquiries, found no cause*
" *to believe that they were near the place:* and
" upon their giving this account to the king the
" thought of that remove was laid aside; *and the*
" *reason communicated to very few, for the better*
" *discountenancing farther inquiry.*"

On the concluding paragraph of this most strange explanatory relation Warburton has made the following observation—"the difficulty or im-"possibility of finding the place, if the body were "there, is an idle story. The king who had re-"ceived a large sum from the parliament for the "solemnity of a public interment contented him-"self with a very superficial search, and pocketed "the money."

It is probable that the right reverend commentator formed the opinion, which he here pronounces, as he is well warranted, simply from the internal evidence of the absurdity, which pervades the noble Historian's narrative, corroborated by his knowledge of the king's character; since he could not have seen those documents, which of late years have entitled the whole "story" to a stronger epithet than that of "*idle.*"

Sir Thomas Herbert, the only one of the king's servants permitted to attend him to the scaffold, to whom with Mr. Mildmay authority was given to bury the royal corpse, expressly says in his Memoirs, that it was deposited "in a vault, where "two coffins were laid near one another, supposed "to contain the bodies of king Henry VIII. and "Queen Jane Seymour; and that *this vault was* "*under the middle of the choir, over against the* "*eleventh stall upon the sovereign's side.*" And lord Clarendon himself says that "when the duke "of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and the "earls of Southampton and Lindsey," who had been empowered to make choice of the place of burial, could not discover "where our princes had

" used to be interred. At last there was a fell
" of the town, who undertook to tell them th
" place, where there was a vault, in which king
" Harry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour were
" interred. And as near that place as could con-
" veniently be, they caused the grave to be."

It is well known that these indications were sufficient to direct successfully the search made in the year 1813 by order of his present majesty, from Sir Henry Halford's very interesting account of the result. But admitting this "fellow of the "town" to have been the only inhabitant of Windsor, who knew where our princes had used to be interred, of which all the old officers, who had belonged to the chapel, were more especially ignorant: admitting too, that he, though alive in 1648-9, might, as well as the duke of Richmond, have been dead before the restoration, there is good and unquestionable evidence that with him the secret was not lost. On the 26th February, 1665-6, Mr. and Mrs. Pepys being then at Windsor, were, "among other curiosities in St. George's "chapel, shewn where the late king is buried:" and that which proves that there was here none of those tricks proverbially played on travellers, or of those hoaxes, to which the curious are particularly liable, it is added that "there also lie "buried king Henry VIII. and my lady Seymour."

Echard in his history says—"It was thought "that king Charles II. never sent to enquire after "the body." If ever an enquiry was made, it must have been much in the same way as lord Clarendon describes the search to have been made

on the spot: which was, that "where any con-
"curred upon this or that place, they caused the
"ground to be opened *at a good distance*," and *then* "found no cause to believe that they were "*near the place.*"

Thus the person incontestibly the best able to answer such enquiries, sir Thomas Herbert, was certainly never applied to. For he not only has given in his Memoirs the above-quoted information, but in a letter dated 3d Novr. 1681, and addressed to sir William Dugdale, writes—

"Honoured Sir,

"I shall now give you all the satisfaction I can
"as to the reality of his late majesty's burial in
"his royal chapel at Windsor: of which, as I
"perceive by your letter, *his majesty is somewhat*
"*doubtful:* which *scruples* probably arise from
"some misinformation." He afterwards says—
"upon the lords coming the next day king Henry
"VIIIth's vault was opened by Nicholas Har-
"rison; for which he had ten shillings: and five
"shillings and sixpence to the widow Puddifat
"and Isaac the sexton her man." And he concludes thus—"in this manuscript I now send you
"I have in the margin named the inferior atten-
"dants. I believe Mr. Firebrace, Mr. Dowset,
"and Mr. Levet* know most of them."

In Peck's Desiderata Curiosa p. 412 is given "a report from the committee touching the me-

* The names of these three gentlemen frequently occur in the histories and memoirs of that time as employed near the king's person, and much in his majesty's confidence.

" thod and attendance to be observed at the " funeral of the late king: reported by colonel " Harrison: dated Feb. 8th, 1648."

The 1st article is—" that the body of the king " be buried at Windsor; either in the quire, or " *rather in Henry VIIIth's chapel,* if it may be."

Art. 4. " That *Mr. Herbert,* Mildmay, Preston, " and Ducket, have money paid into their hands " upon account to be issued out for the charges of " the burial."

Art. 8. " That three servants be allowed to each " nobleman, and not above two to others."

Art. 9. " That the duke (of Richmond) be ac- " quainted with the number allowed, and desired " to give in a list of their names, and servants, on " Wednesday morning next."

The items of this report agree in all particulars with the passages above transcribed from Herbert's letter; and they further warrant lord Clarendon's account, that " the royal corpse was " committed to four of those servants,* who had " been appointed to wait upon him during his " imprisonment, that they should convey the body " to Windsor. The duke of Richmond, the mar- " quis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton " and Lindsey were not permitted to attend the " corpse out of the town, but were told that they

* Of these four Herbert and Mildmay had been so appointed, when Legge and Ashburnham had been driven away: and to them are to be added, as having been present at the funeral, Firebrace, Dowset and Levet, to each of whom, as not more than two servants were allowed, so probably not fewer were in attendance.

"should have timely notice that if they pleased "they might be at his interment." That "those "great men were not suffered to have above three "servants each; that they had only obtained "leave to be present for they had no power to "prepare or do anything in it."

Here then enough, more than enough, of proofs and arguments has been adduced to shew that Burnet has given a very inadequate notion of Clarendon's devotion to his ungrateful sovereign (Charles the second) in saying, that "he had such "a regard to the king, that when places were dis-"posed of even otherwise than as he advised, yet "*he would justify what the king did*, and disparage "the pretensions of others, not without much "scorn." For here we see that he could make still greater sacrifices than those of opinion; even of that which some men have prized more than life itself. He must have known, that his royal master in such researches, however diligent and persevering, was no Mezentius; who, as we are told,

Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora *vivis:*

and that in his majesty's opinion money was much better spent on those, who were alive and merry, than on those, who were dead and buried.

But when Warburton very truly says, that his majesty put into his own pocket the large sum from his parliament for a public re-interment, it is just to observe that in this no blame attaches on lord Clarendon, who died an exile in the year 1674. Whereas it appears in the journals of the house of commons, that it was not until the 30th

of January 1678, that the house voted the sum of 70,000*l.* for "a solemn funeral of his late majesty, "and for a monument to the said prince of glori- "ous memory."* After this we have seen in Herbert's letter to Dugdale, that his majesty even in 1681 "still was somewhat *doubtful* of his "father's burial in the royal chapel at Windsor, "which *scruples* are thought to arise from misin- "formation." Yet his majesty, three years before, had no *scruples* as to pocketing this money; but (like his some time chancellor) "*doubted not* that "he might receive it very honestly," although expressly voted by parliament to be applied only to other and specificated purposes.

* "Two months tax according to the present rate of taxes."

Note. Readers are once more entreated to observe that lord Clarendon, in these comments on his own text, is taxed with nothing, which he has not himself laid to his own charge: to which his friends alone have given publicity, and to which his foes could never otherwise have had access.

END OF VOL. I.

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